

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1880.

The Week.

A VERY weighty and imposing anti-Grant demonstration took place on Thursday last in St. Louis, on the initiative of ex-Senator Henderson, who made the principal speech of the evening. He argued elaborately against the third-term principle under our present system of nominating Presidential electors—"political slaves, accredited only to register a foregone conclusion"; showed how "each party is taught to believe that if the other succeeds the country will be ruined," and that "every election is declared to be the most momentous since the origin of the Government"; confessed himself "tired of military methods," and was applauded for asserting that if the methods and policies of General Grant's last administration deserve party approval, "the party itself is unworthy of public confidence." He quoted the Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York Republican resolutions of 1875, and the almost unanimous protest of the House of Representatives in the same year, against the third term, as opposed to the unwritten law of the land, and predicted that if Grant should be nominated, "with the corruption of his administration and the jealousies and dangers of a third term, he cannot be elected." In support of this he cited some very instructive election statistics of the year 1874, and reviewed the irreparable losses of the Republican party during Grant's two terms. Considering the cry for a strong government, he contrasted the turbulent state of the South under Grant with its peaceful condition since Hayes came into office; said that in the present temper of political parties he feared an effort to inaugurate Grant whether elected or not, and added, amid cheers, that in his judgment "the danger of Mexicanizing this Republic is greater than the temporary success of the Democratic party." The single resolution declaring a third-term nomination "unwise, inexpedient, and subversive of the traditions of the Government, and likely to endanger the success of the party," was enthusiastically adopted.

Mr. Henderson gave no hint of his favorite candidate, but the spirit of his remarks was opposed to the only manifestation of the meeting, made when Blaine's name was mentioned. The Grant faction in St. Louis had planned to capture the meeting, or at least vote down the resolutions, but they were outnumbered and overawed. The *Globe-Democrat* performed the singular service for its candidate of quoting not only Mr. Henderson's apology for Grant in the Greeley canvass, but also an article rightly or wrongly attributed to him in 1870, when President Grant undertook to interfere on behalf of the Machine in Missouri, and secured so signal a victory for the bolters under Gratz Brown—an article denouncing this procedure with great and justifiable severity. It is a wonder the *Globe-Democrat* did not refer to Senator Henderson's dismissal from the whiskey prosecution in December, 1875, because of the affront he gave to the President by intimating a desire on the latter's part to let the guilty men escape. We ought to remark in Mr. Henderson's speech the prominence he gave to some recent foolish talk of the boomsters about the Germans being an injury to the country. One of the speakers was Dr. Emil Praetorius, editor of the *Westliche Post*, who read to the meeting two letters from such representative men as Fred. Muench, of Missouri, and Fred. Hecker, of Illinois. Mr. Hecker made the following neat point, apropos of the Strong Man :

"And again. Would, then, the arm of a tried soldier become lame if he was not elected President? Is the military talent of Gen. Grant not at the disposition of any elected President against whom violence should be resorted to by reckless demagogues? Indeed, there is no viler insinuation against a highly-praised man than to

hint that he, who has served the nation under two presidents, would not do so again!"

There is still no account published of what Grant will do if nominated and the Democratic majority in Congress should throw out the vote of one of his States, and yet nothing can be more important. Mr. Conkling says that Congress will be afraid to throw out such a vote, but refrains from saying what they will have to fear, and nobody else comes forward with any explanation. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* said that in that case the candidate would summon "500,000 veteran soldiers"; but the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, another Grant paper, says that this is "libellous," and that the *Inter-Ocean* does not know what it is talking about. It also, however, declines to say in what manner Grant would frighten the Democrats. This secrecy apparently points to some patent contrivance—a strange noise or sudden darkness, accompanied by blows on the person, such as Spiritualists use.

The non-production of any fresh Southern murders or outrages is one of the most interesting features of the present crisis. We have heard of none since the Yazoo murder, and we are now within two months of the convention. The explanation of this cannot be that murders and outrages have ceased at the South, for we have the highest Republican authority for saying that they still occur in vast numbers, and will not cease until there is one more "rousing Republican victory." Why, then, does news of them not come in? The answer to this, we think, must be that Grant's "boom" is not based on murders, but on "counting-out schemes" of the Democrats in Congress, it having become a little too absurd to maintain that he would put down outrages at the South in view of the accounts given by his friends of the condition of the South during his two terms. On the other hand, the inner chamber of the Blaine and Sherman boom is stuffed full of outrages, but it has been discovered in practice that when produced they only help the Strong Man, and do nothing for the Magnetic Man and the Financier. Accordingly they are, as it were, by tacit common consent dropped, and the poor negro is left to his fate or to the secretary of the British Anti-Slavery Society, who seems to be taking up the old 1876 outrages and using them as new, with some additional particulars fresh from Louisiana.

The Smyth case in Albany has presented another phase; in fact it grows more interesting every day. As soon as Smyth found that the *Evening Journal* was turning against him, he wrote to the Mutual Insurance Company of this city, in his official capacity as superintendent, informing the president that a loan of the company's to Weed, Parsons & Co., the proprietors of the *Journal*, on mortgage on their building was much too large for the security, which was greatly overvalued, and urging his calling it in or reducing it, and giving a very low estimate of the premises which he said had been recently made by "an experienced, skilled person." The property was carefully appraised eighteen months ago, during the depression, at \$115,000. The sum lent on it is \$50,000. Smyth's valuation by his "experienced, skilled person" was \$45,000, and he maintained that at a forced sale it would only bring \$35,000; even if his statement of the facts were correct, this use of his official position to harass a political enemy would have been bad enough. But it appears his "skilled and experienced person" was another "henchman," or "pet henchman" as he is called, named Oliver, who "works" for Smyth in polities, and whose estimate of anything is worthless. This makes the transaction exceedingly useful as a fresh illustration of the kind of thing the Machine is, and the kind of men Messrs. Cornell and Conkling, whom Smyth serves, are. He has been a "pet henchman" of Mr. Conkling's for twenty years.

Last June we witnessed an attempt on the part of the majority in Congress to use the select Committee on Civil Service Reform to

worry the Republicans by introducing a bill "to prohibit Federal officers, claimants, and contractors from making contributions for political purposes." The measure has just come to the surface for debate, and occupied the House during the past week more than any other business. It was too clumsily drawn to vindicate either the sincerity or the reasonableness of its projectors, and the consequence was that the discussion had no great value for determining the real sentiments of either party. The inherently corrupt nature of the Republicans was assumed to justify the preposterous provisions of the bill; and the retort courteous, that the Democratic party was not and never had been pure or reformatory, could not be ruled out of order. Mr. Butterworth, of Ohio, who offered a substitute from the Republican side, made an interesting historical allusion to similar measures which failed in both Houses forty years ago, under Democratic censure. Nobody, however, cared to show that the bill (so far as it affected Federal officeholders only) would be rendered superfluous by the simple establishment of tenure of office during good behavior.

After a rejoinder to Messrs. Logan and Carpenter by Senator McDonald, the bill for the relief of General Fitz-John Porter was tabled, both parties being convinced of the inability of the Senate to regard it as any other than a political question. On Tuesday Mr. Edmunds on his own motion introduced a bill to regulate the electoral count. It is a modification of the one passed by the Senate of the Forty-fifth Congress; but though the rules laid down in it are absolutely impartial, its author is probably not sanguine of its adoption. At least the Democratic arithmetic men will doubtless take a long time to study its working in every possible contingency.

Kearney's arrest and conviction for using "vulgar and threatening language" have been promptly followed by his sentence to six months' imprisonment in the House of Correction and a fine of \$1,000. He was, however, so persuaded of the reality of the harmonious settlement, "honorable to all parties," lately announced that he was thunderstruck by the result of his trial. He has managed to get bail for an appeal. The incident confirms the reflections which we offer upon another page in regard to the situation in San Francisco.

The Stock Exchange markets were variable during the week, but the tendency of speculative stocks was to lower prices. One bubble recently blown collapsed, namely, the stock of the Nashville & Chattanooga R.R., which was lately advanced to 128 and fell to 84. Pacific Mail stock, which was recently run up to 62, fell to 44. The general depression was due to disappointment at the small purchases by the Treasury of U. S. bonds for the Sinking Fund, and to a reversal of the efforts of the leading speculators. The small purchases of bonds for the Sinking Fund deprived the money market of a resource upon which it had counted, and left the rates for loans subject to the easy manipulation of speculators, who on several days made borrowers pay commissions of $\frac{1}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ of one per cent. per day. The reserve of the banks was reduced so that the associated banks of the city together held last week less than two millions of dollars more reserve than the law requires. Although money in London is active at 2½ to 3 per cent., bills on London were borrowed and turned into cash here as a means for getting time loans. Notwithstanding that the sterling-bill market was supplied with these borrowed bills, as well as with a considerable amount drawn against the sale during the week in Germany of about \$7,000,000 Southern Pacific 6 per cent. gold bonds, the market was firm at the close at less than two points below the rates which would cause gold exports. The imports of foreign goods continue largely in excess of the exports of domestic products; the imports during February having been valued at \$40,460,000, and the exports at \$26,968,000. During the first two months of the calendar year the total imports were \$81,062,000, while the total exports

were \$50,730,000. Silver bullion in London closed at 52d. per oz.; and the bullion value here of the 412½-grain silver dollar at \$0.8759.

The Virginia repudiators have met with a serious repulse in the veto of the "Riddleberger" bill by Governor Holliday, which the Senate by a close vote has just sustained. Governor Holliday's message on the subject is indignant in tone. He very justly points out to the Legislature that what they call an "elimination" of debt is known to the world at large as repudiation, and that "a State cannot give its own definition of terms and expect them to be adopted by the world." The Riddleberger bill is the most impudent scheme yet put forward in the South for the purpose of cheating creditors. It begins with a solemn preamble that the people of Virginia "will never acquiesce in any settlement which will oblige them and their posterity to pay any part of the interest upon the public debt which accrued during the war and the period of reconstruction," and where it does recognize any right in the creditors at all, proposes that they shall get their interest "out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated." He calls attention anew to the fact that the Virginia debt is not a war debt, but represents internal improvements for which the money was advanced to the State forty years ago. According to the *Herald's* Richmond correspondence, the debt question has created an almost hopeless division in the Democratic ranks. The debt-payers have control of the State organization, while the "readjusters" have a strong following among the negroes. The "colored readjuster's" view of repudiation seems to be a simple one. The negro politician feels that emancipation without some tangible material results is a hollow mockery. He has seen white debt-paying carpet-baggers carry off all the available plunder, in the shape of Federal offices, while the white debt-paying "brigadiers" have all the State offices. To the "colored readjuster" this looks very like a conspiracy between Democratic and Republican debt-payers to "perpetuate the color line," and he accordingly favors repudiation as a means of splitting up the dominant parties and giving his race a chance.

The abuses of the referee system in this city have from time to time attracted the attention of reformers, but efforts to reduce the evil have never had much success. A new movement has lately been set on foot which we trust will result in some intelligent consideration of the subject. There is very little dispute as to the facts. There are in New York a large number of what may be called "habitual" referees, who get their positions through politics or judicial favoritism. They are frequently men of no character, property, or responsibility, barely competent to discharge their duties, who are made referees solely to give them some means of support. As to the results of such a system there cannot be room for doubt; but in the discussion of the matter in the newspapers the mistake is frequently made of supposing that the root of the abuse is the constant employment of the same person as referee. It is not this, but the constant employment of an unfit person that constitutes the abuse. If a law were to be passed forbidding judges absolutely from appointing the same person twice as referee, the character of the appointments would not necessarily be affected by the change. Indeed, it may be doubted whether it would not produce better results to recognize the "habitual" system, compelling judges to appoint formally their referees, and compelling the referees to give bonds for the proper discharge of their duties, and making the referee removable for cause like any other judge. The referee really acts as a judge, but under the present system as a judge superior to all human responsibility.

Mrs. Belva Lockwood, a lawyer recently admitted to the bar in Washington under an act of Congress passed last session, and who sent bouquets to the supporters of the bill, appears to have got into what is, in more senses than one, an "active practice." She recently began to "stir up Ben Hill" by a bastardy suit, her client being

a woman from Georgia about whom little seems to be known. No sooner had the papers been served, however, than the plaintiff was induced, she says by a small payment in money, to disown the suit and repudiate her counsel and sister-woman, Mrs. Lockwood. Whereupon Mrs. Lockwood, instead of dropping the matter, as a cold-hearted male lawyer would have done, resolved to pursue the defendant in the newspapers, and wrote for publication a "scathing" letter to Mr. Hill, accusing him of carrying "ruin" into divers households, and using the civil service of his country to "cover up his tracks." As Mr. Hill cannot refute this new charge, even if untrue, without bringing shame and confusion on some family, naturally Mrs. Lockwood has thus far the better of him. In fact, by this mode of attack she has all men at her mercy, including the judges before whom she practises, the lawyers whom she opposes, the litigants against whom she fails to get verdicts, and clients who do not pay her bills. By keeping charges of "a delicate nature" hanging over their heads she can make the proudest and ablest men in the community dread her displeasure more than loss of either health or money. The pity of it is that this is exactly the kind of element which the foes of woman predicted she would introduce into legal practice if she was ever admitted to the bar, and which they predict she will introduce into polities if she ever takes heartily to voting and legislating.

The facts with regard to the compulsory pilotage question now being investigated by Congress are, we believe, so far as they relate to the port of New York, as follows: The whole system of pilotage is governed at present by State law. Pilots are licensed by the Pilot Commissioners, and every vessel entering the harbor is compelled to employ one. The number being restricted, the business is a valuable monopoly. It appears that the gross annual earnings of a Sandy Hook pilot-boat are now over \$25,000. This sum is, of course, reduced by expenses, and has to be divided among a number of men. The service, too, from the intelligence and capacity required by it, ought to be well paid. Still, there is a general belief among the employers of pilots in New York that the remuneration since the war has been too high. At the time of the war the fees were increased fifty per cent. on account of the inflation of the currency, and they have never been reduced. The present agitation is the result of an attempt to lower them. The contest began at Albany and has been transferred to Washington by the merchants, who, finding that the result of domestic legislation was not likely to be satisfactory, set on foot a Congressional investigation of a minatory character. Practically the investigation is intended as a warning to the pilots that if they persist in their unconscionable course with regard to fees the whole system will be done away with by Congress, a Federal law passed on the subject, and pilotage thrown open to competition. As an abstract question a good deal is to be said both for and against compulsory pilotage. The arguments against it are very obvious. The argument for it is that the self-interest of owners is not a sufficient motive to ensure the proper precautions being taken on entering a harbor, and that the public must therefore regulate the matter by law.

The London *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the organ of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, refers in its issue of March 1 to our suggestion that the official superiors of their Secretary, Mr. C. H. Allen, should "restrain his activity," in view of his publication of stories of mutilation committed on negroes in Mississippi, of which he was obliged to confess in the *London Times* that he had no proof whatever. The Committee of the Association now make on this subject the following singular declaration: "So far from Mr. Allen's action in this matter being disclaimed by the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, the *Nation* may rest assured that the Committee are taking every means in their power to spread abroad both in England and America the sad story of this great negro exodus, as made known to them by their friends and correspondents in the United States." But the *Nation* said nothing about "the sad story of the negro exodus." It called attention to the fact that Mr. Allen

sent to the English papers a story of two negroes having had their arms cut off, by Southerners, for attempting to emigrate to Kansas, and when challenged he was unable to substantiate these stories by a particle of proof. He had no evidence whatever of any such mutilations having ever taken place. No one had seen the mutilated men. No American newspaper, at a time when such stories had great political value, had printed one word about them. What we asked the Committee to do was to restrain Mr. Allen from circulating such stories again. But his anecdotes cannot have been part of "the sad story of the exodus," because, of course, the story of the exodus is true and rests on testimony. Does the Committee intend to allow him to embellish it at his discretion?

The Marquis of Huntingdon and Mr. Gladstone have both opened the canvass in England by addresses controverting Lord Beaconsfield's key-note about Liberal sympathy with Home-Rulers and foreign enemies. But there is no news calculated to throw fresh light on the prospects of the two parties. Both are apparently equally confident of victory, and it may be interesting to Professor Sumner to know that the election expenses are estimated at \$10,000,000, and that the announcement of the dissolution depressed consols, as likely to cause a temporary drain of money to the country districts. Considering the extraordinary severity with which the English judges now construe the statute against bribery and intimidation, it is hard to see what can be done with so much money.

The course to be taken by the French Ministry in consequence of the defeat of Article 7 of the Educational Bill in the Senate has been settled by a positive announcement from M. Ferry that he would accept the excision of Article 7, but would enforce existing laws in regard to the Jesuits. Upon this he demanded a vote of confidence, which was readily given. This appears to be at present the only topic which greatly occupies the public mind. The Emperor William has taken great pains to prevent the growth of anxiety about the pending additions to the German army by dining ostentatiously with the French Minister, and uttering loud protestations at the dinner of his desire to be on good terms with France, and of his esteem for President Grévy and M. de Freycinet. General von Moltke, too, has in the Reichstag made a speech declaring that the additions to the army indicated no fear or expectation of war with anybody. They were simply ordinary precautions, and he showed that the German army still fell below the Russian and French, both in numbers and length of service, though it had to defend a territory exposed on every side, while the French had the ocean and the Russians the desert at their back.

In Russia things seem quieter. General Melikoff, the Armenian, who now really holds a dictatorship, his powers far exceeding those of a military commander even in a state of siege, is said to be a man of much cultivation and enlightened views, and his administration is winning good opinions and restoring confidence. The press is enjoying greater freedom, and is venturing to preach the necessity of reforms, and the public are treated with a consideration to which they have never been accustomed from the official class. Nothing has done more to restore confidence than his calling on the Municipal Council of St. Petersburg to send delegates to the council or board which assists him, and the discovery that their presence will not be an empty form, but that they will be consulted and heeded. It is already begun to be said that there may be in this the germs of representative government. He has adopted also a more conciliatory policy towards the students, and its effect on them is already seen. That the Russian Empire should be reorganized by an Armenian is one of the striking illustrations of the way in which long-forgotten or obscured races are beginning to appear once more in our day on the stage of events. The resuscitation of the Armenians Russia may fairly claim as her work, and that England should be virtually engaged in keeping them under the Turks is one of the oddest phenomena of the day.

THE SAN FRANCISCO TROUBLES.

If the last news from San Francisco be true—that Kearney has succumbed, and that in two or three days "arrangements will be consummated ensuring a harmonious and mutually honorable settlement of the questions which have so long vexed the community, and a restoration of good will, business confidence and activity, and general prosperity"—if this is really a correct description of the state of affairs, it would seem as if the respectable people of the city owe an apology of some sort to the rest of the country. For some months back we have been assured that business in San Francisco was declining; that the bank deposits had greatly diminished; that real estate had fallen heavily and building had ceased; that capital was emigrating, and that every branch of business was in a state of stagnation. The cause of this deplorable state of affairs was the presence in the city of a large armed mob, which drilled by night and marched the streets by day, and held meetings in "the sand-lots" at which the speakers threatened many citizens by name with death, and the community at large with fire and sword. Private persons were called on by the mob and directed to discharge some of their servants and make changes in the mode of conducting their business. An adventurer of the worst type, who had been travelling for years in the attempt to escape from his reputation, had been elected mayor, and in office made himself publicly the champion and sympathizer of the mob. The chief agitator, Kearney, a foul-mouthed vagabond, daily threatened publicly to kill his enemies, and collected subscriptions to build a gallows to hang them on. Ministers were interrupted with insult in the midst of their sermons by emissaries of the mob. Merchants and manufacturers were compelled to sit still and listen to public discussions on the sidewalk as to whether they ought not to be executed. Rich men bought cases of rifles to arm their retainers for the defence of their houses, as in Rome and Florence in the Middle Ages.

This state of things, though not in its most acute form, has now lasted for nearly a year. Lately, owing to a decision of the Board of Health that the Chinese quarter was a nuisance which must be abated within thirty days, the disorder and alarm became greater, and the language of the mob more threatening. We have, in fact, in this part of the world, been led to expect any day during the last fortnight or three weeks an outburst of bloody violence in San Francisco, not through an attempt on the part of the constituted authorities or of the orderly citizens to put down the mob, but through an attempt of the mob to visit the city with pillage and massacre. This expectation was strengthened by the formation, a week ago, of an organization outside the law called the "Citizens' Protective Union," which published a manifesto indicating that they were about to undertake the duties which in civilized communities are usually performed by the police and by the courts, viz., the protection of life and property. This, instead of allaying our anxiety, increased it, for we assumed that such a step would only be taken in the last extremity, and it seemed to increase the probability of a desperate armed conflict. The United States troops, we were told, had been concentrated so as to take a hand in it, and the arms of the militia regiments were, as a measure of precaution, removed from the armories to a place of greater safety.

On Tuesday, however, the Chief of the Police arrested Kearney for using "vulgar and threatening language," and took him before a police magistrate as quietly as if he were an ordinary pickpocket. He was found guilty and is awaiting sentence, and immediately afterwards there occurred that restoration of harmony, on "mutually honorable terms," which we have already referred to, and the "arrangements" for the return of peace and prosperity are at this moment being perfected. At this distance it seems, if all this be true, either that the dangers of the situation were grossly exaggerated or that the present settlement is ridiculously inadequate. Neither view is very flattering to the courage and good sense of the real people of San Francisco. If Kearney's arrest was all that was needed to restore "peace and prosperity," we cannot help asking how it came to pass that the business of a great commercial city was

allowed to be put in peril before it was attempted. If it was not sufficient, and the present settlement is only a truce, does not the importance attached to it indicate either great timidity or great simplicity? What "mutually honorable" settlement, too, can the peaceable, industrious inhabitants conclude with a brutal mob of loafers who have been threatening to murder them and destroy their property? What negotiation is it possible to carry on with Kearney and his followers which will not contain the seeds of future trouble? Is there any "honorable" settlement with them possible which does not involve their pleading guilty and going to jail?

These are questions which we have no means of answering. They can probably be only answered on the spot, but until they are answered we must consider the history of the past six months in San Francisco very mysterious, and, on the surface, not very creditable. If the law is for any reason, in any community, insufficient for the protection of life and property, organizations outside the law for that purpose are undoubtedly justifiable, for the law is made for man, and not man for the law; and security, being the foundation of civilization, is the first consideration of every good citizen. But certainly when such an organization is found necessary, all compromise with law-breakers ought to be at an end, and nothing short of their unconditional submission be accepted.

It is very difficult, also, to form any rational conjecture as to the future of California from anything one hears or reads from Californians about the present condition of the State. The pictures drawn of the way in which the Chinese live in San Francisco are very horrible, but the fault plainly lies with the city authorities. The crowding in the cellars, the open drains, and all the other foulness and nastiness of "Chinatown" are phenomena that would rapidly show themselves in any large city in the Union or in the world where there is a poor population, if the police and the health officers permitted them. Horrors almost as great have been witnessed in tenement-houses here. In all the great modern cities of the western world precautions more or less effective are taken against such nuisances by municipal regulation. But in San Francisco the public apparently has not thought seriously of this remedy, and when we first hear of the loathsome-ness of the Chinese quarter it is in connection with the proposal of a mob to destroy it with fire and murder the inmates. In an article on the Chinese question in the last number of the *California*, a San Francisco magazine, by General Miller, a prominent Californian writer, we find the extraordinary statement that the Chinese in San Francisco live as they live "in spite of American laws and in defiant contempt of American police." Elsewhere we have read accounts of their living in some of their cellar abodes over open drains, the drains being municipal works, and the prevention of disease through public nuisance a municipal function.

Surely, all this, if true, points to deplorable apathy about city government on the part of the well-to-do classes, and prepares one for the spectacle of a mob dominating the city for months, when all that was necessary to cow it was to take its leader before a police magistrate for being abusive and insulting. It may be said, of course, that he would not have submitted to arrest quietly if he did not know that the Citizens' Protective Union was behind the police; but this only removes the difficulty one degree further back. The Citizens' Union does not seem to have been a very expensive or complicated organization. In fact, one or two private meetings seem to have put it in motion, and yet it was not thought of until the city had been living for nearly a year under a most degrading tyranny. The one thing which appears clearly in the whole story is the break-down of municipal government by universal suffrage. Somehow or other the law-breakers elected men of their own stamp as mayor and sheriff, who made no secret of their sympathizing with them in designs, and the better class of citizens were unable to prevent it. The formation of the Protective Union was neither more nor less than the assumption of the municipal government over the heads of the mayor and sheriff by a selected constituency; and if peace and prosperity are now to reign it will be because the mayor and sheriff will act under the supervision of a body unknown to the law,

or in fear of it. It cannot be said that this promises much for the permanent security. The new constitution is not doing as much mischief as it was feared it might do; but is not this because it is being systematically evaded? Is an organic law, however, which is made workable by evasion, a good foundation for the lasting prosperity of a State? In fact, from whatever point of view we look at the Californian crisis, it seems as if those who are most interested in the material and moral welfare of the State would have to go down deeper for the foundation of their peace and security than they have yet done. The Chinese apparently are at present by no means the worst danger with which the State is threatened.

THE POLITICAL PROSPECT IN ENGLAND.

THE coming election in England will bring a Parliament into existence which will probably have more important matters to settle than any which has met since the passage of the Reform Bill. First and foremost, it is plain that the crisis of the "Eastern Question," which has hung over Europe like a black cloud ever since 1815, is very near at hand. The Turkish Empire has, of course, long been thought to be in process of dissolution, and it has been in slow process of dissolution for over fifty years, but the process has now become very rapid. The Government has no revenue, and apparently no armed force worthy of the name, and the provinces it still retains are ravaged with impunity by brigands. All departments of the state at Constantinople seem to be in a condition of complete disorganization, and famine is raging over large areas to add fresh horror to the scene. It is, therefore, not certain, but highly probable, that England may have within the next five years to say positively, either alone or in conjunction with other Powers, who is to have Constantinople and the territory around it. That the Tories will get through such a crisis without a war with Russia seems unlikely. They would find a peaceful settlement made difficult, at best, both by their previous attitude of defiant and distrustful rivalry, and by the strong stimulus they have given to the mysterious thing called "imperialism." But in addition to this they have succeeded in making Russia take the place in the mind of a very large portion of the English public of "a natural enemy" which was so long held by France. The "natural enemy" to an average Englishman is not simply a foreign nation which stands in the way of the growth and security of the British Empire, but a thoroughly deceitful and vicious people, whose policy is directed by the basest motives, whose conquests and annexations are prompted by pure lust of power, whose armies butcher and ravish indiscriminately, whose officials all take bribes, and whose government, whatever its form, is a despotism of the meanest kind. It was undoubtedly under the influence of the "natural-enemy" feeling that the London Common Council the other day voted down by a large majority a proposal to congratulate the Czar on his recent escape from assassination. The counsellors felt he was too bad a man to be congratulated about anything. During the civil war in this country the North rapidly put on the moral deformity of the "natural enemy" in the Tory newspapers and drawing-rooms, and Lincoln became a more repulsive monster than the Czar, and one more wholly given up to evil. The view died out at the close of the war through influences needless to mention, but it is questionable whether it would have died out if the United States had continued to cross English foreign policy in any field. A more powerful aid to a ministry with an aggressive turn than this tendency to associate moral deformity with political hostility to England it would be impossible to devise, and the Tories are masters in the art of fostering it. It causes everything on which the nation most plumes itself to contribute to make the enemy detestable. It has now acquired such strength with regard to Russia that it is difficult to see how, in case of another collision, the Tories could keep out of a fight which would have all the flavor of a crusade. The prospect is made the more serious by the improbability that the present Premier could stand the strain of a great war. It is said to be as much as he can do to bear the pres-

sure of his present responsibilities, and they are nothing to what they would be if England were engaged in keeping Russia out of Asia Minor, or checking her advance in Central Asia, and trying to prevent anybody but the truly good from getting possession of Constantinople. And yet he may be said to constitute the cement of the Tory majority in the House of Commons. They have no other leader they can trust, and they live by leadership rather than by opinion.

It must not be supposed, however, that even the worst outlook for the Tories makes the prospects of the Liberals altogether bright. There is undoubtedly a division in their ranks which it is impossible even under the pressure of adversity altogether to cover up. Mr. Gladstone is the natural leader of the party, and yet he cannot lead it. The Moderates are a little afraid of him. The impression has spread through the middle class that he is not altogether a "safe man." He writes and talks a great deal, and people love to hear him and read him, but nobody can write and talk so much without saying a great many indiscreet things and suggesting a variety of startling possibilities. He has been a magnificent legislator, and is one of the three or four first-rate financiers the world has produced, and yet he has apparently been overtaken by somewhat the same kind of distrust which made the late Horace Greeley's Presidential candidacy so much of a farce. We say the same kind, not the same degree, because Mr. Gladstone has proved himself a great statesman. But how few of those who accepted Greeley as a political apostle were willing to see him charged with high executive functions. The actual leader of the Liberals—the Marquis of Hartington—only obtains allegiance from the Radical wing of the party by a great sacrifice of feeling on the part of the latter. Radicals have often shown readiness to accept the generalship of an aristocrat and man of pleasure, as Lord Hartington is, but only when, like Fox or Mirabeau, he is a genius. Lord Hartington is anything but a genius, and, in fact, is mainly useful to the Liberals as a sort of guarantee to the cautious and conservative people that the party does not cherish revolutionary designs. It is as much as he can do to serve even this purpose, however. He really likes horses and dogs and game much better than politics, and finds even the function of guaranteeing Liberal respectability, it is said, somewhat tiresome. He has borne his responsibilities very well thus far, but he is clearly not the man to head a party which needs ardor and enthusiasm either to hold its own or to make fresh conquests, even if he were what he cannot be as long as Mr. Gladstone lives—the leader to whom the party looks for its inspiration and its policy.

The most difficult problem of all for the Liberals, however, is the Irish problem, to the solution of which they seem to be fully committed. The Tory theory is that there is no Irish problem or anything Irish to be dealt with except a parcel of turbulent and unreasonable Irishmen, and it seems probable that on this point the bulk of English voters agree with them. The damage done to Lord Ramsay, the Liberal candidate at Liverpool, by his simple promise that he would be willing to enquire into what is termed Home Rule, and the exceeding care the Liberals have since been taking in the House of Commons to clear themselves of any suspicion of sympathizing with what the English constituencies believe Home Rule to be, show very plainly what the state of English opinion on this subject is. In fact, there is probably greater exasperation in the English mind against Ireland than there has been since O'Connell's day, and the Tories have of late been taking some pains to stimulate it. For much of it, it must be said, the Irish themselves are responsible. The Fenian agitation, with its resort to murder and explosion in the hearts of English cities, gave a great impetus to the natural English tendency to take unreasonable views of Irish affairs. The course of the Irish obstructionists in the House of Commons since then has operated powerfully in the same direction. It may be true enough that, as Mr. Sullivan showed in the House of Commons the other day, the Tories were in 1874 guilty themselves of the grossest obstruction, but then there is a difference, which every Englishman feels, between obstruction undertaken for

the purpose of defeating a measure and obstruction undertaken for the purpose of bringing the legislative body itself into contempt; and of the latter the Irish Home-Rulers are not unreasonably suspected. Nevertheless, that something much more radical than anything which has yet been attempted must be done for Ireland is probably plain to many reflecting Englishmen, and it is to the Liberals the task must fall, as representing almost exclusively what may be called the sympathetic power of the English people. That enormous defect of the English mind, which has done so much to dim the splendor of English history—its inability to enter into the social and political ideals of alien or quasi-alien races, and its tendency to condemn what it does not understand—has been cultivated, if we may use the expression, steadily by the Tories, and is one of the forces on which they have always relied when hard-pushed. Many races and communities have suffered from it, but none so severely as the Irish, owing to their nearness to the seat of British power. Such progress as has been made during the past fifty years in securing a recognition of the fact that Irish ideas of how Ireland ought to be governed may have some merit, even if it be not apparent to Englishmen, has been due, on the whole, to the Liberal party.

It must be admitted, however, that it is not a kind of work which is likely to help them with English constituencies, and it will probably burden them heavily for some time to come. Some of the Irish members have of late begun to assist in lightening it by sober-minded argument of Irish grievances in the English press. The *Nineteenth Century* and other monthlies of the same character have recently contained several articles from the pens of prominent Irishmen, which are a far more effective statement of the Irish case than anything that has been heard in the House of Commons. The failure of Mr. Parnell's tactics in this country, which have had a striking resemblance to those of Denis Kearney, by robbing him of much of his influence after he gets back, will probably be useful in the same direction. For there is, after all, an Irish case against English legislation of unanswerable force. There are Irish grievances which cannot be disposed of with a sneer, or by charges of disloyalty against those who produce them. To make their way in the English mind, however, they must be presented with clearness and vigor, and in a form in which Englishmen will not be ashamed to handle and support them. For the follies and indiscretions of Irish agitation at home and abroad there has hitherto been an excuse which Irishmen might offer not only without shame but with a certain pride, but which has now done all the work of which it is capable. These follies and indiscretions are, after all, the excess or overflow of a tenacity in clinging to the sentiment of national life such as probably no people has ever before displayed, and which is one of the most curious phenomena of modern history. It is safe to say that there is no other people whose history had been, on the whole, so barren of stirring incidents and so little marked by epochs of fruitful and glorious toil, and whose yoke has been for ages so heavy, who would not long ago have lost all trace of national feeling or aspiration or tradition, and have accepted absorption and oblivion in dumb despair. The struggle the Irish have continued to make in all lands, and for many generations, against political extinction—a struggle which has been kept up in the main by the very humblest class—ludicrous and even grotesque, turbulent and disorderly as it has been in many of its aspects, undoubtedly indicates the possession by the race of qualities to which another step in civilization may give extraordinary political value, and which it seems little short of madness for English statesmen of this generation to ignore or despise.

THE SEASON AND THE SESSION.

LONDON, Tuesday, March 2, 1880.

THE season has begun with maimed rites. There is now no Holland House, or Cambridge House, or Gore House, because there is no Lady Holland, or Lady Palmerston, or Lady Blessington. The buildings remain, and there is in one case, at least, a wearer of the title. Holland

House stands where it did; it is occasionally inhabited: garden parties are given on its historic lawn when weather permits. But the place is merely the ghost of itself, a monument to its own literary and political associations. Strangers visit it as they do the Cluny Museum in Paris. Cambridge House, where Lady Palmerston held those receptions in which the suspicious virtue of Mr. Cobden saw the instrument for the seduction of Radical manufacturers and pliant journalists, has become one of the innumerable military and naval clubs to which every year seems to make an addition. The half-world (to translate the French phrase) which Lady Blessington gathered around her at Gore House has no longer any centre of its own. Indeed, the half-world itself has disappeared. The people who hovered on the dim confines between what is respectable and what is not respectable seem now to choose their side definitively, and to cross the border either way once for all. Clever Bohemianism has sunk to a lower social stratum than that at which Count D'Orsay maintained himself. It is found chiefly among journalists, artists, and novelists of the struggling and out-at-elbows order. Lord Houghton in a recent essay misses the old interchange of social amenities between the great houses which marked his earlier days. There is, perhaps, an explanation if philosophy cared to find it out. All the material conditions survive. There are stately mansions, long suites of spacious and luxurious rooms, staircases which are themselves saloons and lounging places, wealthy hosts unsparing of expense, graceful hostesses willing to die for their party, and to undertake the fatigues of an American President in bowing and shaking hands—and the result is a discordant rabble, and not an organized company. In former days the aristocratic class confined its intercourse to its own order, and to the artists and men of letters whose distinction and social qualities adorned or enlivened these assemblies. People knew each other. Receptions and other entertainments brought together society in organized and living groups. Now the necessity of asking the manufacturer who has won an important borough for his party, and his wife and daughters, with the logical consequence that if you ask him you cannot avoid asking the retired tradesman, with his feminine belongings, who has managed to wrest another constituency from the enemy, makes our great houses on their open days little more than public houses. They are houses of call for the party to which they belong. People are in local contact, closer than is agreeable, without being in social intercourse.

The season opens this year under more than the disadvantages inseparable from existing social and political conditions. There are accidental drawbacks to its efficiency. The traces of the fire which, at the beginning of last year, destroyed or damaged the upper part of Lord Granville's house in Carlton House Terrace have been effaced; and the Liberal leader is restored to it, and is able to make it the scene of the smaller hospitalities of the dinner-table and the drawing-room. But it is not yet in a condition to receive the Liberal party, rank and file, and its camp-followers. The Countess of Cork, with frank and kindly hospitality, has taken up the mantle which for the moment has fallen from Lady Granville's shoulders, and her house in Grafton Street has been, on several occasions, the scene of those receptions at which the members of the Liberal party meet each other and exchange greetings with the smiling faces and cordial hands of friendly antagonists. Lord Derby's secession from the Conservative ranks, and his attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the Liberals, and of a neutrality not quite so benevolent towards his old colleagues and followers, has removed the mansion in St. James's Square from the list of great Conservative houses. Lord Salisbury's long illness has shut his place in Arlington Street to society. Lady Stanhope, whose husband is the son and successor in the earldom of the well-known historian, receives the Conservative party, with a sprinkling of personal and literary friends of no politics, or of opposing politics, in Grosvenor Place. The hereditary intellectual reputation of the Stanhopes seems less likely to be maintained by its titular head than by his younger brother, Mr. Edward Stanhope, at present Under-Secretary of State for India, and probably the ablest of the rising Conservatives in Parliament.

If the season is languid the session has not hitherto been particularly interesting or promising. Both parties have their eyes fixed on the general election, and each is bent on out-maneuvering the other. They pretend to be thinking of public business; but they are really thinking of the cries on which it will be most convenient to go to the country, and the accusations which they can make against each other with most chance of being believed. One great source of perplexity to both is the Irish vote. The leaders, Conservative and Liberal, have had very seriously to consider whether they will be most likely to secure a majority in the new Parliament by courting Irish opinion or by defying it. Their conduct and language have fluctuated according as the one impression or the

other has been predominant. The question for both of them is whether concession to Ireland will gain more Irish than it will lose English and Scotch votes. This is one of those perplexing points on which it is impossible to have assurance in advance. The leaders on both sides, or their followers, with the tacit or more than tacit approval of the chiefs, have tacked and trimmed. When Mr. Gladstone's Irish University Bill broke up the alliance between English Liberals and Irish quasi-Liberals, overtures were made by the Conservatives to the Home-Rulers. A Conservative Home-Ruler was a political being to be as much recognized and tolerated as a Conservative working man. Irish seats which could not be won by a Conservative without profession of Home-Rule principles were to be purchased by that profession. A leading Conservative Home-Ruler was significantly rewarded with the lord-lieutenancy of his county. The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Bill of 1878 and the Irish University Bill of 1879 were additional overtures to Irish opinion. The Irish vote, however, was not gained by these measures, while stolid English Conservatism and Protestantism were shocked by them. Having tried "concession to the legitimate claims of Ireland" without success, the Conservative leaders bethought them that "resistance to her factious demands" might be a better card to play. The defeat of Lord Ramsay at Liverpool, partly on the false pretence that he had acquiesced, with Lord Hartington's sanction, in Home-Rule principles, gave the Ministers the cue to their future conduct. The Liberals were charged with coqueting with a party bent on dismembering the Empire and entering into relations with men false to their sovereign and their country. This was Lord Beaconsfield's language.

Nothing would be easier than to create an anti-Irish Jingoism throughout England and Scotland, compared with which the anti-Russian Jingoism of the past three years would be as nothing. To the charge against the Liberal party of associating itself with foreign intrigue and aggrandizement abroad would be added the accusation of associating itself with the internal disruption of the Empire. If Liberals could be further inveigled into a position which would lend itself to the imputation of countenancing Irish obstruction in the House of Commons, a good case would be presented for at once appealing to the country. Sir Stafford Northcote's resolution, which has now become a standing order of the House of Commons, was produced with this view. It was hoped that the Liberal leaders, not having been consulted about it—an omission contrary to the courteous usages of Parliament—might oppose it. In that case, as it soon became known to Lord Hartington and his friends, there would have been an immediate dissolution. The Government would have appealed to the country against the Opposition which had shown itself the friend of the foreigner, the patron of a semi-seditious Irish faction, the ally of unscrupulous Irish obstruction. The trap was too openly set and too clumsily baited to be capable of ensnaring anybody. The question whether Parliament shall complete a seventh session of the ordinary length, or whether there shall be a dissolution at any earlier time, is probably once more an open one in Lord Beaconsfield's mind. If he can snatch a victory by surprise he will do so. If the opportunity fails, he will endeavor to go to the country with the credit of a last session of useful and productive work. If to this claim could be added a settlement in Afghanistan and an honorable accommodation with Russia the odds would be in his favor. A little juggling might conceal for a twelvemonth the financial embarrassments of the Government. A last session of Parliament brings into prominence the least worthy arts of management on both sides and the less creditable tricks of the game. They are not, however, the whole of politics in England, and are practically compatible, if not always theoretically consistent, with much that is pure in motive and honorable in conduct.

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THE GERMAN SCIENCE.

LEIPZIG, February 7, 1880.

THERE was a time when philosophy was in a peculiar sense the national passion of the German mind, and when every intellectual man, if, indeed, he had no system of his own, was proud to be called a disciple of some great thinker, who had construed the universe to his own mind, and dictated his own terms to every special science. Even Krause planned a congress of philosophers to organize the departments of human knowledge into some solidary encyclopaedic form for purposes of both education and research. His plan came to naught only because it was a little too late, and if people laughed it was because they had just begun to realize that philosophy in the sense then current meant individualism sharpened and defined to the utmost, and that if a philosopher would

enjoy in peace the full fruition of his own opinions he must keep aloof from other philosophers.

Physiology is not a little indebted to philosophy. Medicine first became a science, according to Helmholtz, with the establishment of the law of the specific energy of the nerves, which he compares in importance to the discovery of the Newtonian law of gravity. For this law, in the wide sense of Johannes Müller, science is unquestionably indebted to the Kantian philosophy; and on the basis of this principle, and led by impulses which are more or less directly traceable to the Herbartian system, men like Lotze, Wundt, and others have been led from physiology back to philosophy again; and, what is far more important, the medical profession is once more slowly gaining a position of influence in the intellectual world such as it never occupied before. In the middle ages physicians were always the *Aufklärer*, and now individuals among them have done work for science which actually recalls to mind the old Hippocratic maxim, "God-like is the doctor who is also a philosopher."

Physiology has been characterized as just now pre-eminently *the German science*. This is probably true, whether it means that German philosophic methods and results are less known in other countries than those of other sciences, or that they reflect more peculiarly the national characteristics. Till Foster's text-book appeared very little was known in England and America of German physiology save by specialists who themselves had studied in Germany. The German observer is no more acute in studying morbid symptoms or anatomical forms of animal life than the English or French. But the former is not satisfied merely to observe; he has a passion for making his own conditions. It is not enough to record the normal functions of a tissue, but it must be made to work under artificial conditions—*in vacuo*, with electrical and thermal stimulation, and under the influence of divers gases and chemical compounds. The action of organs is studied by extirpating, laming, or poisoning them all, with a view to learn how to reproduce normal conditions. If the German observer sometimes forgets that his science is but a part of man's world-old fight against his greatest enemy, disease, and pursues his science merely for love of the strangely fascinating insight it brings him, it is a noble error, more than excusable, even on the ground of the greatest practical utility, in which the pursuit of truth for its own sake has issued so often in the history of science. Again, in England and France a scientific man may be a merely descriptive physicist without much knowledge of mathematics—a thing almost unknown in Germany, where even the physiologist finds it indispensable to understand at least the elements of the higher mathematics, so universal are mechanical ideals, and so useful is it to bring his results into at least approximately exact form.

As an illustration of the scope of these methods we may mention Dr. Lilienfeld's volumes in politico-social science, on the physiology of the state, in which commerce is treated under the rubrics of the circulatory system, schools and printed matter under that of the nervous system, etc., in a way which would have delighted Hobbes himself. And again, to borrow an illustration from Helmholtz, as the microscopist when he reaches the limits of visibility must turn all his attention to the study and improvement of his instrument, so now more than any other the physiologist of the nervous system has reached a point where he must turn the greater part of his attention to the chief instrument with which he works—viz., the human mind. In a peculiar sense true science here can be grounded only on the fundamental laws of psychic processes. Fick terms physiology "the highest and most fruitful generalization of the collective natural sciences," of which Du Bois-Reymond calls it the queen. Czermak, who devoted his wealth to building and equipping a magnificent laboratory and lecture room, and his time to the end of his life to the popularization of physiology among the general public, was never weary of insisting that it should be taught in every high-school. Once more, evolution in the sense of either Darwin or Haeckel is far from being a finality for the physiologist. It is for him rather a morphological assumption that all animals and men belong to one family, and he defines his science, with Pflüger, as the chemistry and the physics of living matter. Czermak defined its object to be the development of the phenomena of life from the laws of these two sciences by experimentation. Accordingly, most of the younger men devote themselves more or less exclusively to one or the other of these halves of a science which is rapidly growing beyond the possibility of mastery by any single mind; and some laboratories, like those of Heidelberg and Bonn, are pre eminent in the chemical, others in the physico-mechanical, side of physiology. If a single professor is generally at the head of a laboratory, it is in many if not most cases rather on account of the practical difficulties, such as interference of authority,

etc., of having two professors of co-ordinate rank, than because it is now regarded as a strictly integral science.

About three years ago Professor Hermann, of Zürich, was induced by Vogel's publishing house to edit a brief but comprehensive encyclopædia of physiology. The same thing was undertaken thirty years ago, in the youth of the science, in Wagner's still famous hand-book, where, in the compass of four good-sized volumes, a dozen professors treated most of the leading topics of the science monographically in so thorough a way that the book gives an admirable picture of its condition at that time. The sixth volume, completing the first half (or over 2,300 pages) of Hermann's work, has just appeared.* The first volume is devoted to the contraction, excitation, and fatigue of muscles. It contains an interesting chapter on that most fascinating of all the topics of myology—the electrical current of muscles. This, by Hermann himself, affords him a chance to restate his objections to Du Bois-Reymond's molecular theory, which is becoming more questionable every day. Professor Nasse describes the chemical properties of muscles, and Professor Engelmann, on protoplasmic and ciliary motion, concludes the volume. The larger part of the second volume is taken up by Professor Grützner's physiology of the voice and of language, which shows us among other things how completely the training of the voice, the nature of vowels and consonants, accent, and even perhaps the origin of words, have become matters of physiological science. Professor Fick concludes with a chapter on the mechanics of movement. The third volume is devoted to the general properties of nervous tissue and to the special characteristics of the spinal and cerebral nerves. In the third volume Professor Eckhard discusses reflex action and the other properties of the spinal cord and cerebellum and the cerebral ganglia; and Professor Exner, under the head of physiology of the cortex of the brain, treats sensory and motor impulses, the time of various psychic processes, attention, sleep, localization of functions, etc. The fifth and by far the ablest volume is devoted to the sense of sight. The dioptric and retinal functions of the eye are presented by Professor Fick. Professor Kühne writes a chapter on his famous retinal-purple, or the photographing powers of the retina, and Professor Hering, the great apostle of nativism as opposed to the empiricism of the Helmholtz school, concludes with a psychological chapter on the sense of space and the movement of the eye. The sense of hearing, by Professor Hensen, takes up the first part of the sixth volume; and taste, smell, touch, and the sense of temperature, by different authors, conclude it. The bibliography throughout is very full and valuable, and the work will of course supersede the score of smaller text-books which are still in the market.

In spite of the great merit of the work of Profs. Hermann, Exner, Hering, and Fick, perhaps of Grützner, the book, as a whole, has several grave defects, and does not, as Wagner's "Handwörterbuch" did in its day, give us, in all respects, an adequate view of the physiology of its time. I will not speak of the occasional repetitions, trifling defects of arrangement, the omissions of the department of development history, the somewhat stultifying effect upon many German investigators of writing pages which cannot by contract be made the vehicle of communicating original researches, but only mention, first, that the names of the four most eminent German physiologists, Ludwig, Brücke, Reymond, and Pflüger, do not appear in the list of authors, and the two large universities of Berlin and Leipzig are not represented at all. The two last professors in particular, and all four to a degree, are representatives of views which have been more or less hotly contested for years, and their antagonists, doubtless with the truest aim to be impartial, have written with a decided *tendance*, if not occasionally with a partisan spirit. There are certainly important phases of the science of which the advocates are still living, and which are very meagrely presented. It would be interesting to go somewhat into details here, but I have left myself no space. The book is often uncritical and not well digested. The most striking instance of this is the work of Professor Eckhard, whose introductory historical sketch is little more than an advertisement of a book he intends to write, with copious citations of authorities which it often seems as if he could not possibly have read, so inadequate is his treatment of their contents. The same may be said, though in much less degree, of Prof. Funke's work, which, it should be observed, however, was finished and reviewed by another hand after his death. Moreover, it will hardly be regarded as a merit by many that the optical part is made supplementary to Helmholtz's Optics, since the latter, valuable as it is, is and will long

be out of print. In spite of all this the work is, of course, indispensable to every physiologist, and it is to be hoped that the remaining half, promised before the end of the year, will be still more satisfactory.

Correspondence.

PROGRESSIVE INCOME-TAXES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Readers of this week's *Nation* who are also readers of the *North American Review* must be puzzled by two statements which flatly contradict each other. In his article on income taxation in the current issue of the *Review* Mr. D. A. Wells says: "All incomes subject to taxation in any European country are invariably assessed at one and the same rate," and he reiterates this assertion at various places and with increasing emphasis; the *Nation* says, in the leading article on "The Socialistic Legislation in Germany," that "the *Klassen-steuer*, on which the representation in the Prussian Landtag is based, is an income-tax increasing from one half to two and three-quarters per cent. as the incomes rise." How shall this difference be explained?

Mr. Wells is wholly wrong—inexcusably wrong, one might add, since any enquiry into the practice of Europe ought to have included Prussia, and any enquiry into the Prussian revenues ought at once to have revealed the *Klassen-steuer*, or, more strictly speaking, the *Classifizierte Einkommen-steuer*, which you correctly describe as a progressive or graduated income-tax. Indeed, Prussia may be said to have two taxes of this sort, one state or national and one municipal. The cities are authorized for their part also to levy an income-tax, the *Gemeinde Einkommen-steuer*, which is a certain percentage of the state income-tax, the rate being determined in each case by the local authorities. Thus, in Berlin it is now, I believe, seventy per cent., so that a citizen who pays one hundred dollars on this tax to the state, pays also seventy-five dollars to the municipality. No new assessment is, of course, made for this second tax, but the progressive feature in the state assessment is evidently retained.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

MARCH 5.

H. T.

MR. BAYARD'S AVAILABILITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A place in your columns is solicited for the following observations suggested by the article in your last number relating to the alleged unavailability of Senator Bayard, as a Presidential candidate, by reason of the peace predilections expressed in his Dover speech of June, 1861. Mr. Bayard's entire career since he has entered public life has been so pre-eminently conscientious, courageous, and patriotic that he has confessedly won the admiration and confidence of all, and been regarded by many as an indispensable candidate. Under these circumstances his exclusion from the list of available candidates would occasion profound regret, and by many would be deemed a national misfortune. It is, therefore, proper to pause and enquire what is the real extent and weight of the objections to Mr. Bayard's availability, and to consider whether, if they exist, they cannot be removed or entirely overcome.

As objections to his candidacy, it has been urged that his nomination would raise the "sectional issue," and also would arouse the prejudices which were entertained by many of the Independent Republican voters of the North against those who believed, in 1861, that the secession problem could be better solved by pacification than by war. But, inasmuch as the nomination of Seymour and Blair in 1868, of Greeley and Brown in 1872, and General Ewing and other "war candidates" in 1879, did not avert the "sectional issue" and banish the "bloody shirt" from the political arena in the campaigns of those years, it does not seem reasonable to claim that a Democratic candidate with a war record will do so in 1880, especially when it is expected that the coming campaign will bring the Democratic party and its independent allies, through the Southern electoral votes alone, within forty-seven votes of the Presidency, as Mr. Conkling has so significantly remarked. Since, therefore, the "sectional issue" is inevitable in 1880, whether the Democrats have a war or peace candidate, such an objection can have no more weight against Mr. Bayard than against any other candidate. Indeed it is most probable that it will have little or no weight in the approaching canvass. It was most vehemently urged against the election of even such unwarlike Democratic veterans as Tilden and Hendricks in 1876, and yet, unsuccessfully, because the influence of the sectional issue was counteracted and outweighed

* "Handbuch der Physiologie, bearbeitet von 21 Professoren, herausgegeben von Dr. L. Hermann, Professor der Physiologie an der Universität Zürich." Zürich. 1879-80.

by considerations of graver importance and more vital interest to the welfare of the country.

And so it will be in 1880. For the people are weary of sectional strife, surfeited, *ad nauseam*, with politics and politicians, political issues and partisan legislation, and they long for the return of an enduring era of good feeling and zealous devotion to the public interests instead of to party ends. They want public servants, not political dictators; and the methods of peace, not the measures of war. For President they want a statesman, not a warrior; one who in character, training, and long experience in public affairs is conspicuously qualified for that high office, and who is perfectly in accord and sympathy with the present aspirations and needs of the nation; who is right to-day, and not who was right twenty years ago and wrong now. And they especially demand a man of positive, not negative character; one who will be actually President, and not the dupe or willing tool of corrupt political managers; and who will restore a decent administration of the public service, and courageously and unflinchingly discharge his sworn duty regardless of fear or favor within or without his own party. Utopian as these sentiments may seem, in juxtaposition with present political practices, it will be found that, in the next Presidential election, the people will evince a decisive preference for such a candidate, and especially for such an one as shall have been tried in the ordeal of national affairs and found trustworthy, rather than for a new man whose fitness is untested and uncertain.

Now, if Senator Bayard is such a candidate, if he does realize the popular ideal and is in full accord with the living issues of to-day and the present needs of the country, as the newspapers—Republican, independent, and Democratic alike—have so often confessed, how are the enlightened, patriotic, and independent voters of the country to answer to their consciences and their country if they themselves become the cause of his unavailability?—as they surely will become, if they permit a mere prejudice against his peace opinions in 1861 to defeat his nomination and election, when the reasonably certain consequence will be to give over and continue the control of the Government in the hands of those President-making politicians who will conduct it in the future, as in the past, in a manner detrimental to both the welfare and decent reputation of the country, and contrary to the professed views and wishes of the entire body of independent voters themselves.

Surely, so suicidal and so fatal a prejudice cannot prevail among those who claim the proud title of the enlightened and independent Republican voter. Its existence, therefore, must be an utter assumption, or its extent and influence greatly exaggerated. In the border States, during the war, the passions and resentments were undoubtedly fiercer than in the North, and the prejudices against the advocates of the "peace policy" naturally more lasting. And yet in Delaware more than five thousand voters who were opposed to Mr. Bayard's peace sentiments in 1861 have joined his party since the war, and are now among his stanchest supporters. Indeed, in Delaware, where his whole record is familiar to all, Mr. Bayard is stronger than his party, and can attract to his personal cause a host of voters—particularly the young—who have hitherto voted the Republican ticket, as is shown by their own public avowals of late, and by the spontaneous outpouring of the best elements of all parties during the unprecedented reception given him in November upon his return from Europe.

If these indications demonstrate how little influence can be wrought by "prejudice" even in a "border" State, how insignificant must it be elsewhere, and how little, if any, can it affect Mr. Bayard's availability! In truth, is there not reason to believe that this prejudice is an imaginary political bugbear, and will obtain only with the unreflecting or with those who, from sinister motives, wish Mr. Bayard to be reputed "unavailable"? But even if such an unpatriotic and perilous prejudice be found to exist, what will be the true mission of the independent press which has so often lauded Mr. Bayard as the ideal Presidential candidate, and also the obvious duty of the truly independent citizen at this juncture? Will it be to yield and pander to a baneful popular prejudice, or to utter the voice of warning and strive manfully and zealously to control and dispel it, and in its place create and direct a wholesome public sentiment?

If the independent press, which declares that the people are "perfectly in sympathy" with Mr. Bayard upon all present public questions affecting their dearest interests, as well as those party papers which have so often proclaimed that he, *par excellence*, possesses the qualifications required by the next President, will cordially, vigorously, and persistently unite in reiterating these utterances and in denouncing the suicidal folly of subordinating reason to passion and patriotism to prejudice, it is not

at all improbable that the politicians will suddenly become convinced that "sentimental considerations" against Mr. Bayard's availability will promptly and most obligingly yield to the patriotic considerations requiring his election to the Presidency.

J. C. G.

MARCH 6, 1880.

RAILROAD COMPANIES AND THEIR EMPLOYEES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a late number of the *Nation* (No. 764) there was published a letter from Charles Francis Adams, Jr., on the "Care for Railroad Employees," wherein Mr. Adams endorses and gives the sanction and the influence of his name and reputation to a scheme of which he says he has no doubt "that in itself the plan is not only perfectly practicable, but one dictated by the soundest considerations of pecuniary interest." The plan is that railroads shall obtain the "moral support and political help" of their employees (which are, it is assumed, not paid for by the ordinary wages) by creating a "Special Employee Loan Fund," to be lent to deserving men after three years' service at less than the current rate of interest. The money is to be used by the employees to procure homes, and the rate of interest named is 4 per cent.

The ruling rate of interest in the West being 8 per cent., this plan would in effect establish a special fund from which the company would donate the difference, say \$40 a year (4 per cent. on \$1,000) for five years, to an indefinite number of men for an indefinite service. It is obvious that anything which will promote *esprit de corps*, zeal, and efficiency among railroad operatives is a good thing for railroad owners; but whether zeal and *esprit de corps* can be promoted by the plan which Mr. Adams recommends, or by any other similar plan, is a fair question. Paternal methods of dealing with large bodies of men are apt to attract the attention and sympathy of philanthropic people, but the wisdom of such methods, especially in this country, may well be doubted. At all events, no step in that direction is safe until the ground has been very carefully and thoroughly surveyed in advance. Many of our great railroad companies employ from ten to twenty thousand men each, and the first thing for the employer to do in dealing with such a body of operatives is to make clear to them the true character of the business relation which exists between him and them, and this is all the more important if the employer be a corporation. Rules of conduct or the absence of rules, which might be safe or even salutary in the case of the individual employer of small numbers of men, might be destructive of discipline and an encouragement to the worst doctrines of communism if adopted by a corporation employing thousands.

Against this particular plan I beg to submit the following suggestions:

I. Making loans of money on favorable terms by an individual to secure to himself personal adherents of especial loyalty, may or may not be considered a success; the result varying with circumstances. This is essentially a personal matter, depending upon personal considerations alone, and the sphere of such operations is always quite limited, and, therefore, easily commanded. But the proposition to make it a branch or department in railway management, and effective as a means of influencing large bodies of employees, is a very different matter.

II. If it is proposed as being a remedy for too low wages, a better remedy can be suggested—namely, to raise the wages. Upon this point any one interested in the principle involved will find it discussed and condemned in the comments of Mr. Mill upon the "allowance" and "allotment" systems of England ('Principles of Polit. Econ.', book ii, chapter xii. §§ 3 and 4). Concerning allotments, which are commended as the better plan of the two, he says:

"As affecting the general condition of the laboring class the scheme, as it seems to me, must be either nugatory or mischievous. If only a few laborers have allotments, they are naturally those who could do best without them, and no good is done to the class; while if the system were general, and every or almost every laborer had an allotment, I believe the effect would be much the same as when every or almost every laborer had an allowance in aid of wages."

III. If the wages are high enough, they need not and should not be increased for the purpose of inducing men to do their duty to the company's interests. If not high enough to command the kind of service wanted, raise them. All the fidelity and "political help" which a company desires from employees can be secured by good treatment and the prompt payment of fair wages—that is, wages which will command in the market the services of the kind of men you want.

IV. All employees whose merit and service are the same should have equal reward from the company as such. But this gratuity is only to be

given for the purpose of securing homes, and to those who have already paid one third in value on the property. If the fund is large enough to be made available to *all* who could buy homes, the number of these would still be comparatively small. Many workingmen do not need homes of their own—have no families and no occasion to buy homes. Of those “in meritorious service over three years” probably not one in ten would go upon the list as a borrower from the fund. Nothing will produce more discontent among employees than a feeling that they are being unequally dealt with in a distribution of this kind. The gratuity should not be restricted to those alone who are able and willing to buy homes. If it is urged that the very object of the plan is to discriminate in favor of those who buy homes, to give them a premium because the possession of homes makes better citizens, and, therefore, better employees, it is nevertheless true that the plan would not tend to promote the *zeal* and *esprit de corps*, but the reverse, among the nine out of ten or four out of five meritorious employees who, from various causes, would not share in the bounty. Besides it is, to say the least, doubtful if on general principles it would be wise to offer special inducements to employees to run in debt.

V. Under the proposed plan the money will as a rule be given to those who need it the least, which, if not an injustice, is nevertheless not what the plan aims at. As the fund is limited some test for applicants is necessary, and the one named is that the borrower shall be “deserving.” But he who is most deserving and meritorious would probably have been the most frugal and saving, and would be least in need of the money.

VI. It is doubtful whether actual experience will demonstrate that the effect upon the few who receive the loans will be to increase their efficiency or devotion as workmen. Shakspere says:

“Neither a borrower nor a lender be,
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.”

VII. As the fund is to be provided by the “absentee owners” of Western railroads, so the placing of it must be confided to the local management. Employees will claim that they are interested in the fund, and if the manager fails to divide it fairly and to decide rightly who are *most* “deserving” and “meritorious” in accordance with their ideas of fairness they will think they have just cause for dissatisfaction; this will not promote efficiency in the service.

VIII. Assuming that this is not proposed as being in any sense a remedy for low wages, but in “reward” of merit (as if “merit” were not expected for fair wages), and that an early result of its sincere adoption will be to extend its privileges to *all* deserving workmen of three years’ standing, it not only involves the use of very large amounts of money, but it introduces a new element into the relations of employer and employee. The doctrine now generally accepted as sound is that personal service is a commodity worth the market price, good and zealous service always commanding a better price than poor or indifferent service in the long run; that great railroads are peculiarly dependent upon the general labor market for their supply; and that whatever disarranges it is to their detriment. Paternalism, however well meant on the part of railroad companies, will weaken the conviction in the minds of working people that wages are solely dependent upon the law of supply and demand, and there will be substituted the feeling that the owners of the property are adding, can add, will add, and soon that they *should* add something “reasonable” as a reward of merit, as if a man were not employed and paid good wages to do his duty.

IX. Employees who reflect upon the subject will probably prefer to be paid fair wages and receive fair treatment, and then pay the market price for the money they borrow, as they do for other commodities. Gratuities, if not regarded as a right, would put them under obligations to the company independent of their employment. They would prefer that the regular laws of property and values should control the relation, and to feel at liberty to exact higher wages if the wage market justified it.

X. It is a business necessity in the operation of railroads that there shall be on the part of the managers freedom to discharge any employee, without being required to give a reason for it. Any paternal arrangements will interfere with that freedom, and to that extent impair the efficiency of the service.

XI. The general object of the plan is to stimulate men to greater zeal and efficiency. But men are stimulated, if at all, by the hope of something of more value to them than the loan of \$1,000 at 4 per cent., namely, an advance or promotion in place and pay; and if the hope and desire for these will not make a man work with zeal, the added possibility of getting \$40 a year given to him for five years after three years’ service,

will have no effect. In fact, zeal and efficiency among railroad employees depend on the kind of discipline and management which assures a man that with these qualities he can get ahead in the natural way. No artificial stimulus is needed.

XII. The establishment of hospitals, and of libraries and reading-rooms, at points where large numbers of men congregate, is a somewhat different matter. There is some reason to doubt whether mankind appreciates what it does not have to pay for; but within limits, and rightly managed, it is possible some good may come from this kind of provision for the employees all alike. The writer has had some experience and spent some money in trying the library and reading-room scheme, and while the result is as yet not altogether satisfactory or encouraging, the indications are that in this direction is the best prospect for a satisfactory result.

GRADGRIND.

Notes.

IN token of the centenary of Channing’s birth, the Unitarian Association will issue a new edition of his life, by his nephew, Rev. W. H. Channing, compressing it into one volume. Roberts Brothers, also, will publish ‘Reminiscences of Dr. Channing,’ by Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, another book about him by the Rev. Charles T. Brooks, and ‘Principles and Portraits’ by the Rev. Dr. Bartol. The same house, in order to head off an unauthorized edition of Arnold’s ‘Light of Asia,’ will issue a cheap paper edition of their own, with additional matter.—Houghton, Osgood & Co. have in press a ‘History of Marblehead,’ by Samuel Roads, Jr. —D. Lothrop & Co. will shortly begin publication of a “Library of Entertaining History,” edited by Mr. Arthur Gilman. ‘India,’ by Mrs. Fannie R. Feudge; ‘Egypt,’ by Mrs. Clement; ‘Switzerland,’ by Mrs. Julia S. Tutwiler; ‘Scandinavia,’ by Mr. Chas. E. Hurd; and ‘Spain,’ by Prof. J. A. Harrison, are among the volumes projected.—‘Free Trade and Free Land,’ by Representative S. S. Cox, is in the press of G. P. Putnam’s Sons.—Austin Dobson’s ‘Vignettes in Rhyme,’ with an introduction by E. C. Stedman; and William Cory’s ‘Guide to Modern English History—Part I., 1815-30,’ will be published at once by Henry Holt & Co.—J. B. Lippincott & Co. have in preparation ‘King Lear,’ the fourth volume of Mr. Horace Howard Furness’s Variorum Edition of Shakspere; the ‘Summerland Sketches’ of Mr. Felix L. Oswald, which have formed an agreeable feature of their magazine; and ‘New England Bygones,’ by E. H. Arr.—Mr. John Springer, of Iowa City, is printing by easy stages an expanded edition of his Catalogue of books, etc., in his possession relating to the art of Printing. It will be limited to 85 copies on tinted and as many on plain paper.—Mr. Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, of Chipping Barnet, Herts, England, invites subscriptions at a guinea a volume to his ‘Historical Memoirs of the House and Clan of Mackintosh and of the Clan Chattan’ (large 8vo, pp. 700). The work has been for several years in MS., and will be published if the cost of printing is assured. It contains separate accounts of the Macphersons, Macgillivraies, Macbeans, Shaws, Farquharsons, and other septs of the Clan Chattan, and has an important relation to the general history of the Highlands.—Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, have just brought out a very useful and timely compilation, by Florien Giauque, of all constitutional provisions and laws of the United States relating to elections, the elective franchise, citizenship, and the naturalization of aliens. It makes a not bulky pamphlet even with the addition of notes of all the United States courts’ decisions, and in naturalization cases of the State courts also. There is a full index.—A. Williams & Co., Boston, are about to issue, under the title of ‘Our National Domain,’ Mr. Edward Atkinson’s graphic chart of State and international areas, etc., published at Thanksgiving by the *Herald*. It will be folded within covers.—The fourth annual report of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts shows an attendance during the past year of nearly 160,000 visitors, the free Sunday having an average of more than 300 over the free Saturday, and once (during the exhibition of Mr. Hunt’s pictures) attaining the large total of 4,400. The Museum has now “by far the best collection of casts in the United States, and one of the best in the world.” Among the more important acquisitions of 1879 were the Tanagra figurines, and casts of some of the Olympian masterpieces.—From the fourteenth annual report of the Sheffield Scientific School and the fifteenth of the Rutgers it appears that the State scholarships in both these institutions go a-begging.—The *Oriental Church Magazine* enters with the number for this month on its second volume (American News Co.). In addition to the features which give this quarterly a peculiar interest is its aim “to promote the reunion of the divided churches of

Christendom." — The *Bystander*, a monthly review published at Toronto since the beginning of the year by Hunter, Rose & Co., deserves the attention of all who are politically-minded, and who like fresh and vigorous comment on the leading events of the day in both hemispheres. Apparently the entire contents of this periodical are the production of one writer, and he the author of the paper in a recent *Atlantic* "On the Prospect of a Moral Interregnum." To say this is to bestow the highest praise upon the literary style of the *Bystander*, and to indicate its liberal and independent view of public affairs. Imperialism, flunkeyism, and toryism are, when Canada and the mother country are concerned, the editor's chief objects of aversion. — M. Ernest Boysse has recently published (Paris : Vaton : New York : F. W. Chistern) 'Le Théâtre des Jésuites,' some chapters of which had previously appeared in the *Revue Contemporaine*. To most readers even his title is a surprise. In the popular mind the principal connection of the Jesuits with the theatre is their having sat as model for *Tartuffe*. As a fact, however, a Jesuit defended Molière against attack after *Tartuffe*. M. Boysse's book is a history of the plays written for acting by the pupils of the Jesuits' College in Paris—at which, as it happened, Molière was a scholar. Most of these plays were original with the worthy fathers, who wrote them for the practice of their pupils. Female parts were omitted as far as possible, and classic and sacred subjects were most frequently treated. The most amusing of M. Boysse's chapters are those describing the ballets (!) in which the scholars appeared.

— The citizens of Baltimore are thinking of celebrating the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of that city in some fitting way. A committee to whom the matter was referred by the Maryland Historical Society recommend that, in addition to a public dinner, with appropriate addresses, a series of papers be prepared for publication by competent writers, "to illustrate the history of the city in every important particular from its settlement to this time. These papers should include not only those events and subjects which usually fall within the range of history, but all such as belong to the life and growth of the city." To give sufficient time for preparation, they recommend that the celebration shall take place in the coming autumn.

— The appearance of the quarterly *American Journal of Philology*, under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins University, is a notable event in the annals of American scholarship. It is, indeed, singular that the professorial corps in our higher institutions of learning, who, whatever else may be said for them, have been remarkably free from jealousy and bickerings, should not long ago have felt the need of a means of communication in their kindred studies. We have especially in view the professors of languages, ancient and modern, because a comparison of notes on their part is a direct contribution to pedagogy, and because the educational journals in which something of this might have been done, have not succeeded in rising above the grammar-school level of interest and support. We expect to see a good influence exerted upon these by the new *Journal of Philology*. Its editor is Basil L. Gildersleeve, the Johns Hopkins Professor of Greek, and the publishers Macmillan & Co., though subscriptions are payable to the editor (P. O. Drawer 18, Baltimore). The first number runs to Greek decidedly, as Prof. Gildersleeve admits; but this is the accident of a beginning and not the result of bias on his part. His own contributions are supplemented by those of Prof. Goodwin, of Harvard, and Prof. Packard, of Yale, among the leading articles; and by Messrs. Thomas Davidson and A. C. Merriam among the Notes. German is represented in Prof. Franklin Carter's article, "Two German Scholars on one of Goethe's Masquerades," and abundantly in the Reports—i.e., careful and readable summaries of the contents of the leading philological periodicals. This is something quite apart from the Reviews, which have also their place. The number closes with a long list of serial publications on philology already at the command of the *Journal*, and with eight pages of Recent Publications, classified by national origin. Single numbers can be procured of Macmillan & Co. at \$1 each, while the subscription price is \$3 for the volume of four numbers. We wish the *Journal* all the success which its founders can desire.

— From the office of the *Railroad Gazette* we have received the 'Car-Builders' Dictionary,' compiled by Mr. M. N. Forney, one of the editors of that excellent paper, with the assistance of Mr. Garey, superintendent of the Car Department of the N. Y. Central and Hudson River R.R., and Mr. Smith, secretary of the Master Car-Builders' Association. The design of the work is primarily to meet the necessities of the extended interchange of rolling-stock among different and distant roads, when repairs are to be undertaken; and secondarily to fix the nomenclature, of

which the diversity is at present great and marked by all the qualities of the American genius for invention in language as well as in the arts. A third result will probably be to encourage uniformity of construction. The work is in two parts: the vocabulary, printed on green paper; and the illustrations, on white. In the alphabetical list of terms each one is briefly defined, and a reference is given by numbers to the figure and its part which represent the object. Thus, *fare-wicket* is defined as "an opening in the main door of a street-car, through which the conductor collects fares from passengers on the platform without opening the main door," and is numbered 89 in fig. 751. But how shall one, looking first at the figure, discover the corresponding technical term for 89? On the same page he is referred back to p. 477, where, under the heading "Street-Cars," is a numbered list of names of all the parts represented in the subsequent group of illustrations. This gives him the name, and then the vocabulary gives him the definition. The labor and ingenuity displayed in this dictionary can hardly be too highly praised. As every nation has its own mechanical terminology, the work might challenge a place beside the 'Dictionary of Americanisms' not less than beside (say) Knight's 'American Mechanical Dictionary.' It does not, we ought to add, profess to be complete, but only to embrace the parts and objects in common use.

— We described briefly, the other day, the Coast Survey volume on Alaska, compiled by Mr. Wm. H. Dall, and containing all known meteorological records kept in Alaska and Eastern Siberia during many years, together with a list of all books, pamphlets, and newspaper articles written concerning the extreme Northern Pacific Ocean and its coasts and islands, in any language. The meteorological portion covers 150 pages. Among the stations included are Hakodadi, in Japan; Petropavlovsk, in Kamtchatka; and Point Barrow, in the Arctic Ocean, latitude 71°. The records quoted from Sitka extend back more than forty years. The interest of these records is diminished by incomplete habits of description—e. g., as to whether inches of snowfall are supposed to be melted, whether dates are N.S. or O.S., whether baric data are "corrected" for elevation, and further by the confounding of relative with absolute humidity. The compiler occasionally expresses doubts as to the credibility of the materials he has collected—thus: "The table of the force of the wind seems unsatisfactory, as it does not accord with experience, and seems altogether too uniform for accuracy." Moreover, he confesses to the doubt which we have often insisted on as to the veracity of data from low-lying vanes: "In regard to winds a good deal of material has accumulated; but it is almost impracticable to free it from station-error or bias, due to the conformation of land at each particular station." Of Dove's observations he says: "They conflict with my own experience . . . and with common sense . . . to such an extent that they cannot be considered as having any value." Among hypotheses disproved is that of the existence of a gulf-stream from Japan to Behring's Strait; among those proved is that of an area of very low pressure over the Northern Pacific Ocean in winter. The climate of the Alaskan coast closely resembles that of Norway. Mr. Dall will spend the coming season in studying the coniugation and currents of Behring's Straits.

— A chapter from Gregorovius' 'Wanderjahre in Italien' has been translated, with the author's permission, by Miss Lilian Clarke, and published as a small volume, with the title 'The Island of Capri' (Lee & Shepard). It has been turned into very pleasant English, and can be cordially recommended to the large number who read with delight every new description of Italian scenes, especially when, as in this case, the description is more than commonly full. The author has not mentioned the distance of the island from the mainland, or the circumference of it (about nine miles), but while speaking of the grottoes, into more than fifteen of which he penetrated, says one can easily make the circuit of it in three hours. It is well known that the Emperor Tiberius made the island his residence during the last eleven years of his life, and built there twelve villas. It was also inhabited by other emperors, and had been bought by Augustus; but Tiberius is the only one who survives in the popular tradition, and he as a monster of iniquity. His name has become hardened in the popular language to *Timberio*, and the inhabitants also call their island Crap. Tiberius's character we are hardly expected to discuss in a notice of a pleasant description of a lovely island, but it may be said that Gregorovius appears to hold to the correctness of the popular tradition, in which he agrees with the Emperor's near successors, Tacitus and Suetonius, and also Dion. Miss Clarke observes that, although this harsh view has been seriously questioned by recent scholars, she has not thought proper to alter the author's expressions, meaning,

probably, by notes referring to other opinions, as, of course, without the author's approbation, she would not undertake to alter the text. Perhaps Merivale says about as much in apology of Tiberius, or reintegration of him, as the case requires.

—Among the many men to whom Mr. Matthew Arnold has for a number of years been a source of almost nervous annoyance, it is probable that even the aggressive sceptics have been less keenly exasperated than the dogmatic theologians, of whom he once remarked: "It is clear that dogmatists love religion, for else why do they occupy themselves with it so much and make it, most of them, the business, even the professional business, of their lives?" When he talks about religion being something quite independent of the current theology, it seems to them, remembering how dogma is the bone and sinew of religion according to all traditions, grossly impertinent. And it is doubtless with this thought in mind that Principal Shairp, Mr. Arnold's and Mr. Ruskin's successor in the professorship of poetry at Oxford, expresses a civil surprise in the current number of the *Princeton Review* at the recent utterances of Mr. Arnold concerning Wordsworth. Mr. Arnold had said in effect, every one will remember, that morality formed a main part of human life, and that English poetry was great chiefly because it had recognized that truth; Voltaire, by the way, had said it before him. In an article on "Poetry *versus* Agnosticism" Principal Shairp quotes this, and adds: "We are glad to hear it asserted from quarters whence we should hardly have looked for it." Mr. Arnold can certainly take very good care of himself, and we do not propose to defend him or any "theories" he may have against the affronts of Principal Shairp. What is curious, however, is that Principal Shairp has probably no notion whatever that his remark is an affront; and this state of mind in the professor of poetry at Oxford is worth noting. Nothing could be clearer than Mr. Arnold's attitude towards all such matters. Aside from his direct dealings with religious subjects it is impossible to read any of his literary essays without seeing how largely in his view morality enters into all questions, and how necessary it is in everything. The Continental criticisms upon his "Literature and Dogma" were, we remember, expressions of astonishment at this; M. Challemel-Lacour in particular took him roundly to task for his absurd overestimate of the importance of morality. To associate him by implication with the school of criticism of which Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Rossetti might fairly be taken as examples, is simply to make a mistake in information which no Oxford professor ought to be without, or to be guilty of misrepresentation, too clearly misrepresentation to every well-informed person to be successful.

—In religion, however, Mr. Arnold is undoubtedly an agnostic, and therein, it is patent, lies the objection that would vitiate anything he might say in such minds as those of Principal Shairp. It is probably impossible for the latter to believe Mr. Arnold when he professes himself a Wordsworthian. His whole article proceeds upon the impossibility of true poetry being written by any one who does not believe the Christian eschatology, because a true poet must be moral, and no one can be moral without dogmatic belief about supersensible things. This we believe to be a fair epitome of his article as nearly as we can make it out, and it is worth mention because it illustrates the vice of much criticism now current, and inverts the proper order of procedure with what may be aptly termed intellectual unscrupulousness, careless of everything but the moral effect on the reader. The evident and fatal objection to it is that there have been precisely such men and conditions as Principal Shairp says cannot exist. He quotes a celebrated passage from "The Excursion" to show that "not merely moral qualities" are suggested by landscape, but that they lead man "into greater nearness to Him who makes that beauty and order"; and the famous passage from the "Eve of St. Agnes" to show that Keats "does not much pass beyond . . . very intense sensuous delight in graceful form and gorgeous color." Unfortunately for the *ergo* here, Keats's verses are incontestably the higher poetry. Further on he says it hardly makes more difference in the color of a man's practical life whether he really believes that "this world is but the vestibule of an endless state of being," than it does "in the complexion of a poet's work." It is idle to follow such criticism as this, or one might ask Principal Shairp how far inferior this would make the author of sundry Hebrew psalms to the late Dr. Isaac Watts. If it means that Lueretius would have been a greater poet if he had not been a materialist, one can only say that upon Principal Shairp rests the burden of proof.

—The fifth concert of the Symphony Society cannot be called a success. The fault lay chiefly with the programme, which was, in the first place, of unusual length, consisting of four elaborate orchestral pieces,

without the interruption of an instrumental or vocal solo, and which, secondly, was not put together with Dr. Damrosch's usual felicity. The opening number was Goldmark's overture to "Penthesilea," which Dr. Damrosch introduced here at his second concert last November. The first favorable impression of this brilliant and interesting work, which is distinguished by a remarkably powerful and effective instrumentation, was fully confirmed on a second hearing. The next number was a novelty, a Slavonic Rhapsody (No. 2, G minor), by the Bohemian, Anton Dvorak, whose compositions have of late created a sensation in Europe, particularly in England. To judge from the specimen performed on Saturday last, it is difficult to imagine on what merits the enthusiastic opinions which have been expressed in English musical papers are based. Dvorak's rhapsody is a work full of pretty and pleasing subjects, with a bright, sometimes effective, instrumentation, but that is all; the ideas are neither striking nor new, and they are treated in a restless and unfinished manner, which is not excusable even in a rhapsody. It was a mistake to place this number immediately after Goldmark's overture, for the two have so much in common that the second number seemed only a weak finale of the preceding one, and the hearing of both together was wearisome and exhausting. If there was not enough contrast between the first and second numbers, there was too much between the second and third. Like a Titan among dwarfs appeared Beethoven's "Eroica," while Liszt's Symphonic poem "Tasso"—a delightful composition, often heard before, and always with pleasure—never fared worse than on Saturday night, when it immediately succeeded Beethoven's symphony. If the arrangement of the programme was inartistic, the performance, too, was somewhat spiritless, and altogether the fifth concert was decidedly the least meritorious which Dr. Damrosch has given this season.

—The most noticeable event in the week's Italian opera was the appearance of Mlle. de Belocca, who made her débüt in Col. Mapleson's company on Monday last in Bizet's "Carmen." We spoke a few weeks ago in terms of great praise of this charming artist's rendering of the same part with the Strakosch company at Booth's Theatre. Mlle. Belocca was evidently very nervous before the more critical audience of the Academy; nevertheless she sang and acted her interesting part very acceptably. "Lucia," "Linda," and "La Figlia del Reggimento" were repeated; and an excellent performance of the "Magic Flute," with Mlle. Marimon for the first time in this city as *Queen of the Night*, and Mlle. Valleria as a very delightful *Pamina*, completed a highly enjoyable week of Italian opera.

—Professors Sophus Bugge and A. Bang, of the University of Norway, continue to make a good deal of stir among the scholars of Europe on the subject of Teutonic mythology; and if they succeed in establishing their thesis, that the eddic myths are derived from early Jewish-Christian, Keltic, and Graeco-Latin legendary tales, we shall have to give up much that we have hitherto regarded as purely Teutono-Scandinavian, and tear out many leaves from the mythologies of Grimm, Simrock, Keyser, etc. The theory presented by Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson, of Oxford University, in his prolegomena to the *Sturlunga Saga*, recently published by the Clarendon Press—namely, that the Elder Edda originated in the Western Isles—seems to be confirmed by subsidiary evidence, and the latest investigation (by Prof. Rhys) proves that the word "edda" does not, as has so long been supposed, mean "great-grandmother," but is from an old Irish word, *aideadh*, meaning death or destruction, and referring in this instance to the *ragnarok* of Teutonic mythology. It is now asserted that the author or authors of the Elder Edda drew most of their materials from the libraries of the Irish (or Keltic) monasteries. Prof. Bugge alleges that Balder is the Anglo-Saxon *Bealdor* (= lord), and that the whole Balder myth is based on early legends of Christ. The white Balder is thus identified with the white Christ; Loke is Lucifer; Nanna, Balder's wife, is the Greek *Enone*; Geirrod is Geryon; Angantyr is Kentaury, with the Keltic article in prefixed, etc. Even Lodyn is nothing but Latona. Many distinguished European scholars have already yielded their assent to the correctness of the new theories, notably Professor Konrad Maurer, of Munich, in an elaborate article in a leading German magazine and in an address delivered before the Munich Scientific Society. Prof. Bugge's work on the subject is to be published during the present month in Norwegian and German at the same time.

—It should be borne in mind that the facts upon which Bugge bases his surprising conclusions are not all Dr. Bang's and his discovery, nor are they very new. As early as 1859 the late Dr. J. G. von Hahn published his

'Mythologische Parallelen,' in which the identity by common origin (or, as Bugge now makes it, by transmission from one to the other) of Graeco-Latin and Teutonic myths was established by numerous striking examples, and which was afterwards embodied in his elaborate work entitled, 'Sagenwissenschaftliche Studien' (Jena, 1876). The mutual influence of the Odinic and Christian religions upon each other has also long been recognized, and was especially emphasized by Jacob Grimm in his 'Deutsche Mythologie.' The antiquity and authenticity of the eddas, too, were disputed before Grimm by such authors in Germany as Schlüter, Adelung, Rühs, and others. The question, then, is simply this: Shall these identifications of South-European and North-European myths made by Von Hahn and other mythologists now receive through Bugge a new application? Shall they henceforth be made to testify that Teutonic mythology is merely the child of the Graeco-Latin, or shall they, as heretofore, simply serve as evidence that Greek and Teutonic mythology have a common parent, a common origin?

—A recent number of *Nord und Süd* contains an interesting explanation of the mystery of the life of "Charles Sealsfield," from the pen of the Swiss clergyman Friedrich Hemmann, who during this writer's last years was his closest friend and confidant. Sealsfield was born in the Austrian village of Poppitz, in 1793, and his true name was Carl Postl. He was ordained a priest, and as such spent the years 1816-17 in Prague, where he studied English. He afterwards became a monk, and in 1822 he disappeared. His flight was traced through Vienna and Tyrol, but at the Swiss border the trail was lost, and he succeeded so completely in his design of beginning life anew that to the day of his death Sealsfield was never identified with the vanished monk. In Zürich there were already many persons of consequence who were liberals in politics, and were pleased to have an opportunity of befriending a fugitive from Metternich's tyranny. There was also at the time a business connection between Zürich and the United States, and a kind of "underground railway" by means of which it is probable that many other exiles as well as Postl reached the New World. Sealsfield acquired a considerable fortune in this country, having bought, according to his own story, fifteen hundred acres on the Red River at the price of one dollar an acre. He remained here but seven years and then returned to Switzerland, whence he for some years wrote letters to American papers. His knowledge of American habits and scenery is certainly extraordinary for one who lived so short a time in the country, and whose previous life can hardly have fitted him to be a quick observer. In spite of pecuniary prosperity and a fair measure of fame the close of his career (he died in 1894) was not happy. He had no family; his care to preserve his secret prevented his having confidence in any one; overbearing manners and a habit of mystification regarding his own history did not win him the respect of his equals, and his humble neighbors could account for his peculiarities only on the supposition that he was pursued by remorse for some crime, the popular notion being that his wealth was derived from profits in the slave-trade or from piracy.

BURTON'S REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.*

I.—THE UNION.

UNDER Queen Anne England expanded into Great Britain. This change was effected not by the mere force of circumstances, but by one of the greatest efforts of constructive statesmanship recorded in the history of the modern world. A generation who have turned the instructive paradox, that constitutions are not made but grow, into a misleading platitude, ought to learn much from Mr. Burton's account of the means by which the statesmen of the eighteenth century overcame the all but insuperable difficulties which opposed themselves to the union of England and Scotland. These difficulties were so completely vanquished that a modern student finds it hard to realize how great they were. Yet, in truth, no task which ingenuity ever set itself to accomplish might seem at first sight more arduous than did the attempt to blend the two kingdoms into one nation. All tradition and all the historical influences, the weight of which is in the present day so much overrated, told against success. National independence was the one sentiment in which all Scotchmen agreed; resistance to England created, so to speak, the spirit of Scotch life. The union of the crowns had not produced anything like a union of the peoples; it had not even produced peace. James's accession to an English throne had delivered him from thralldom to Presbyterian ministers. The maxim "No bishop, no king" had

influenced the feelings of James, as it guided the policy of his son. An English army had marched under Charles against Scotland to support the king's episcopal policy, and, by a strange combination of circumstances, the overthrow of Charles only exhibited the inherent differences of sentiment which divided the southern from the northern portion of the island. Cromwell's victory at Dunbar was the triumph of England over Scotland. Cromwell's victory at Worcester was the defeat of a Scotch monarch. Cromwell's union of the two nations was the carrying out by the greatest of English rulers of the policy conceived by the greatest of English kings. In Scotland Cromwell was as much an English conqueror as was Edward I. Moreover, the supremacy of the Independents was a fatal blow to the hope cherished by the whole Scotch nation that Presbyterianism would be the established religion of the whole island. The Restoration was at least as welcome in Scotland as in England, and its chief ground of popularity in Scotland was that it put an end to English domination.

The accession of William III. might, it would have been thought, have terminated the feud between the two neighboring countries; but in matter of fact the spirit of hostility to England flourished and increased in Scotland every year from the Revolution to the Union. Mr. Burton admirably explains the economic causes of Scotch discontent. They resulted from the same commercial ideas and the same economic policy which in 1780 roused Ireland to assert her independence. Moreover, what in modern times would be called sentimental grievances contributed to every question between Scotland and England that element of unreasoning though not always unreasonable passion which perplexes English governments in their dealings with Ireland. For the truth is that the condition of Scotch sentiment in regard to England towards the beginning of the eighteenth century bore a curious resemblance to feelings which are sometimes treated as phenomena peculiar to Ireland. The failure of the Darien scheme was much more than a mere commercial calamity. It made every Scotchman feel that Scotch independence was only a name, and led nine out of ten Scotchmen to the belief that an undertaking in which the credit and fortune of their country were concerned had fallen a sacrifice to the treachery and cupidity of England. If proof of the intensity of this sentiment were needed, one might find it in the judicial murder of Captain Green. Oddly enough, Mr. Burton gives the story with somewhat less fairness in his 'Reign of Queen Anne' than in his 'History of Scotland.' But either account is quite sufficient to show that Green was the martyr to national antipathy to England. That he or his crew had committed any crime whatever is in the highest degree uncertain; that he had injured or murdered a single Scotchman is absolutely unproved; that he had not murdered the person whose death he was supposed to have caused is certain; yet he and his ship were seized at Leith with a treachery which recalls the massacre at Glencoe. He was tried and convicted by a Scotch court; he was executed by order of the Scotch Privy Council, and if he had not been hanged by the executioner would certainly, like Porteous, have fallen a victim to the fury of the Scotch mob. He was sacrificed to a "Scotch idea" quite as unfounded, as brutal, and as irrational as any of the wildest Irish ideas recorded in the pages of Mr. Froude. Nor was violence of feeling peculiar to the mob or to the law-courts. The famous act for the security of the kingdom has now fallen into oblivion. Most Englishmen and Scotchmen will probably be equally surprised to be reminded that under Anne the Scotch Parliament passed an act which on the death of her Majesty excluded from the succession the person chosen to the crown of England, unless there should "be such conditions of government settled and enacted as may secure the honor and sovereignty of this crown and kingdom—the freedom, frequency, and power of parliaments—the religion, freedom, and trade of the nation—from English or any foreign influence."

It may perhaps be supposed that Scotch jealousy and fear of England were counterbalanced by eagerness for union on the part of the richer nation; but this was not the case. No doubt statesmen and merchants in both countries saw the material advantages of a measure which ensured internal peace and doubled the external power of the nation; but there is no doubt that the Scotch were disliked by the mass of Englishmen. A Scotchman was in popular imagination an adventurer, and a needy adventurer. He was an adventurer who made his way, and was not supposed to have either the geniality or the lighter virtues which sometimes distinguish men who have to make their fortune by pleasing others. The romance which Scott has thrown round his country was quite unknown to our forefathers. Events, further, which men still living at the time of the Union could remember were not calculated to make Englishmen entertain friendly feelings towards Scotchmen. The Scotch had attempted

* 'A History of the Reign of Queen Anne.' By John Hill Burton, D.C.L. 3 vols. Edinburgh; Wm. Blackwood & Sons; New York: Scribner & Welford. 1880.

to force on England a scheme of church government specially hateful to Englishmen. The Scotch had been opposed both to Charles and to Cromwell. They had the misfortune to suffer all the odium which under Queen Anne attached to Puritanism and Dissent, without commanding the sympathy of the men who maintained the traditions of the Independents. More than sixty years after the Union, Junius could write that treachery was natural to a Scotchman; and Junius knew how to suit his invective to the taste of his readers. Neither Johnson nor Wilkes was deficient in common sense, but they each detested the Scotch. In either case, no doubt, there was in this avowal of prejudice a considerable dash of humor; but the humorous prejudices of one age are often survivals from the genuine sentiments of another, and any one who realizes how much prejudice against Scotland still existed when George III. came to the throne, may form some idea of the strength of the dislike to the Scotch which must have been prevalent at the time of the Union.

Enlightened statesmanship, however, triumphed, as we all know, over all the difficulties which opposed themselves to the consolidation of England and Scotland into one nation; but there are few of us who realize how it was that this achievement was brought to pass. Readers of Mr. Burton's work gradually come to perceive that this triumph of enlightened policy was accomplished by men who knew how to adhere to principles, some, if not all, of which have been constantly neglected by politicians who wished to unite different states into one nation. The authors of the Union took, in the first place, the greatest care to make every possible concession of interest to the weaker nation. There is no doubt whatever that if England and Scotland were to be considered as haggling over the terms of union, Scotland got by far the best of the bargain. The same wide view of expediency which led English statesmen to consider the interest of the two nations as so completely identical that there was no reason for grudging liberal terms to the poorer state, also made them insist upon everything which was really essential to a complete union. The measure for uniting the two kingdoms was (unlike so many other acts of English legislation) a thoroughgoing piece of workmanship, which was meant fully to achieve its object. It left no open questions. It left nothing to be settled in the modern manner by some amending act filling up the crude outlines of an imperfect scheme. Just, however, because the Act of Union contained all that was essential for its object, it did not aim at producing that kind of uniformity which modern theorists confound with national unity. The laws, the church, the local institutions of Scotland were left in all ordinary matters untouched. A Scotch farmer might soon get to feel that, as far as his daily life went, the union with England produced no change except alterations obviously for the better. The position of the Church was absolutely secured, the laws were unaltered, and the daily life of the people went on exactly as it did before the Union, with the exceptions that no Parliament met at Edinburgh and that existence became more peaceful and prosperous. One marked alteration in the law indeed took place: the use of torture was abolished. That Scotland should have been delivered from this the worst abuse of judicial proceedings is of itself almost sufficient to give the statesmen of the Union a claim to the lasting gratitude of the Scotch people. In estimating the capacity of the political leaders who, by uniting the two parts of the island, laid the foundations for the greatness of the British Empire, it must, of course, be remembered that several circumstances favored their efforts. The course of events naturally tended towards some kind of closer connection between Scotland and England. The fact that they had been united under Cromwell no doubt told somewhat in favor of permanent union. Men who hated the Protector could not deny that his policy had made the whole island prosperous and powerful. The conviction prevalent among Protestants of all denominations that their safety required them to stand together against France and Rome, no doubt told still more strongly in the same direction. The Union, further, closed the long era of religious struggles and persecutions which had for generations disturbed Scotland.

It must also be admitted that the aristocratic form of government which prevailed under Queen Anne favored great strokes of statesmanship. Popular government has inestimable advantages, but popular government means and ought to mean deference to the wishes of the people; and it may well be doubted whether if the government either of England or of Scotland had been at the beginning of the eighteenth century of a democratic character the Union could have been carried. When a century later Pitt attempted to repeat with regard to Ireland the policy which had succeeded so brilliantly when applied to Scotland, his attempt was, to say the least, but half successful. Its failure was due to his inability to combine the Act of Union with a measure of Catholic emanci-

pation. It may, indeed, be said that the obstinacy of George III. marred his minister's policy, but to say this is to attribute to the king's perversity more importance than is due to it. The spirit though not the form of the constitution had changed since the time of Anne. Public opinion had gained a great increase of importance since 1707, and popular sentiment backed up the narrow bigotry of the king against the enlightenment of Pitt. Yet had the king supported the minister he probably might have overruled public prejudice. It is, at any rate, a circumstance which greatly favored the Scotch Union that Anne gave it her hearty support. She is neither a pleasing nor an impressive personage; but a queen who did not thwart a bold policy which greatly benefited the nation, may, as monarchs go, be considered worthy of praise. That the statesmen who carried the Union were in some respects favored by circumstances in no way detracts from their greatness, for the art of politics is the art not of forcing nations into courses utterly opposed to the bent of national genius or to the general current of events, but of using favorable circumstances so as to promote national progress in the direction which it tends naturally to follow. To have done this is the glory of the men who linked together England and Scotland. The Union was a marriage not of sentiment, but of convenience or of necessity; but, based as it was on prudence and carried out with skill, it has produced greater national prosperity than any deliberate act of policy known to the modern world, unless we except the formation of the United States. The English race have committed errors enough in all parts of the world; to their political credit, however, must be put down the fact that they have twice deliberately built up political unions which have been the foundations of national greatness.

BAGEHOT'S ECONOMIC STUDIES.*

THOSE who have been puzzled and confused by the noise made in the world during the last few years by what is called the "Historical School" in Political Economy can hardly find more instructive reading than the volume before us, containing a collection of posthumous essays by the late Mr. Walter Bagehot, the editor of the *London Economist*. The "school" in question is simply a fine name for a sort of reaction against free-trade which has spread in one form or another over the world during the last fifteen or twenty years. This reaction has been largely due to the rise of what is called "the labor problem"; that is to say, the workingmen, even in England, never took kindly to political economy as preached by the disciples of Adam Smith in the Manchester School, and it can hardly be said to have been preached by anybody else with much fervor or acceptance. They supported free-trade because in the form in which it presented itself, in the agitation which preceded its triumph in England, it meant simply cheap bread. But they never acquiesced fully, if at all, in the general application of what are called the laws of trade. They were never quite willing to concede that the relation of demand and supply should determine the rate of wages, or that the freedom of contract between employee and employed should never be restricted by legislation. In the British colonies and on the Continent, free-trade as practised in England never obtained a secure footing. The step towards it taken in France by the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty was taken by the Emperor without consulting or heeding the popular opinion. In fact, ever since 1846 the Protectionists have everywhere defended protection ostensibly in the interest of the working classes; before that period they made no scruple about defending it in the interest of the manufacturing capitalists, and in aid of vested interests. The examination which political economy, as preached by the disciples of Adam Smith, has undergone with reference to this labor problem has, of course, revealed the fact that it is not a panacea, and that a great many of its conclusions are inexact owing to the disturbing influence of varying social conditions, and the differing strength in different places of different social motives. The "Historical School" came into existence as the detector of these discrepancies and divergences. Its books and pamphlets are, however, in no sense scientific. They consist simply in the description, and often wearisome description, of the agencies which in various countries and ages have prevented the laws of trade from working in the way the English economists described them as working. The English economists, however, really did what explorers in every scientific field have to do—that is, they assumed that men in producing and trading were actuated by only one motive, the desire of making money, and reasoned on this assumption, just as a physicist in using the laws of motion assumes that the bodies in motion meet with no resistance. Many of them

* "Economic Studies by the late Walter Bagehot. Edited by Richard Holt Hutton." London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

doubtless have been by no means sufficiently careful to make it plain that there was in political economy, as in mechanics, such a thing as "friction," and that this friction presented itself in various forms. But then this hardly furnished a basis for a school which considers nothing but friction, and occupies itself in cataloguing the causes of friction, and raises a great outcry as if no one had thought of friction until their day.

It must be confessed, however, that a great many of the best writers on economical questions have been not only too much absorbed by the theory of political economy, but have had too little practical acquaintance with friction to be able to make due allowance for its resistance, in dealing with practical questions. Mr. John Stuart Mill made the first conspicuous attempt to combine an examination of the working of economical laws *in vacuo*—that is, in a society of which the love of money was the dominating motive—with an examination of the various kinds and degrees of resistance offered in different countries in the modern world by other states of feeling. A good deal has since been done in the same direction by others; but perhaps no one has done such good service in his accounts of friction as Mr. Bagehot. It is not too much to say that his principal service to political economy has consisted in the lucidity with which he has, even in the unfinished, or at least unrevised, essays of the present volume, described and explained friction. He had the advantage, which no other economical writer of distinction has enjoyed except Ricardo, of perfect familiarity with the mechanism of trade, as seen in all its branches, and with the mode in which the mind of what is called "the business man" plays on the various problems of trade. He had, too, what Ricardo had not, a first-rate education, and to this he added a style which for the purposes of political and economical exposition may be pronounced unequalled.

We can hardly describe the book before us better than by saying that it is a brief account of the way friction works in various fields, to modify the action of the laws which the English school of economists have deduced from the hypothesis that every man's first object in life is to make money. It is an account which nobody but a business man could have produced, because no mere literary acquaintance with the phenomena of trade can give the vivid conception and understanding of them which results from prolonged actual dealing with them. On the other hand, a business man who had not received the intellectual training which Mr. Bagehot possessed, is apt, when he comes to describe these phenomena and estimate their influence, to be so much absorbed by them as to lose sight completely, or in a great degree, of the fact that there is any law at all behind them, or any thread of scientific connection between them, and to use them rather as a list of usages than as materials for correcting and co-ordinating scientific conclusions. Mr. Bagehot describes thus the three defects of the mode in which political economy has been treated in England, "which have prevented people from seeing what it really is, and from prizing it at its proper value": first, "it has been often put forward not as a theory of the principal causes affecting wealth in *certain* societies, but as a theory of the principal, sometimes even of all, the causes affecting wealth in every society"; secondly, "the English economists have been far more abstract, and in consequence much more dry, than they need have been"; thirdly, "they have not been as fertile as they should have been in verifying their theory." He might have added that these three "defects" constitute almost the whole working capital of the Historical School. It is none the less certain, however, that no successful cultivation of political economy is possible to any one who has not first practised himself thoroughly in the application to all sorts of commercial phenomena of the theory that love of money is a man's ruling motive. He must assume the existence of a purely money-pursuing man, and work with him as he works with the axiom and definitions in Euclid, and not venture on the study of the extent to which the love of gain is counteracted or modified in practice by custom or passion, until he has familiarized himself thoroughly with the action of the hypothetical money-getter under all conditions of trade and production. Having once mastered him, the modifications wrought in him by circumstances and tradition can be followed easily and without risk of confusion.

The essays in this volume on the "Postulates of English Political Economy," the "Transferability of Labor," the "Transferability of Capital," and on the "Preliminaries of Political Economy," though they contain, owing to their not having been revised by the author, more or less repetition, are excellent reading, both as an introduction to economical study and as a corrective for those who have been puzzled by the new doctrine that there is no general science of political economy at all, and that each country has and ought to have an art of political economy of

its own. The essay on "Adam Smith and Our Modern Economy" furnishes a very useful introduction to that author, and the same thing may be said of those on Malthus and Ricardo. There is probably no economic writer who has made more noise in the world than Malthus, and yet we venture to say not one in ten of those who talk of him know what his theory of population really was. It would probably be an exaggeration to say that Mr. Bagehot's account of him will enable any one to dispense with the trouble of reading him; but it is safe to say that any one who is going to read Malthus will do well to read this essay first.

SCHARF'S HISTORY OF MARYLAND.*

WHEN one comes to think of it, it is rather a remarkable thing that down to the present time there has been written no history of Maryland. And yet no State has richer or more attractive material for history. Had the life of the excellent and indefatigable Bozman, indeed, been prolonged for a century or two, we might have had less cause to complain of a lack in this respect than of a superfluity; as it is, the result of his labors, filling over a thousand closely-printed octavo pages, covers but twenty-eight years of Maryland's history, and those years the most barren of all in record and detail. One shudders to think how he would have dealt with the periods of the French or Revolutionary wars, or with the resources now open to the historian. The fragment left by the able McMahon treats only of the constitutional and legal aspects of the subject, and leaves untouched all matters not bearing upon these. McSherry's book is so superficial and inaccurate as hardly to rank as a history.

The work before us is an attempt to supply this deficiency, and to give a full and minute history of the province and State from the earliest notice of the Chesapeake Bay and its shores down to the present day. Whatever its defects, we must give the author the credit of having spared no labor in a task which cannot yield him any substantial return. Mr. Scharf has had one advantage over all his predecessors in this field. Mr. George Peabody, among his many liberalities to his adopted State, had abstracts made of over seventeen hundred original documents in the State-Paper Office, London, relating to the history of Maryland between the years 1626-1780, and presented them to the Maryland Historical Society. By their assistance Mr. Scharf has been able to procure official transcripts of documents whose existence was unknown to previous workers in this field.

After a rather prolix recital of those parts of Smith's narrative referring to the Chesapeake and the adjacent lands, and a sketch of the position of the Roman Catholics in England under Elizabeth and James, in which the author seems to have been guided chiefly by Hallam, we are brought to Sir George Calvert and his grant of Avalon from James I. (1623), the charter of which province here for the first time appears in print. This charter is almost identical in terms with that of Maryland; a fact which disposes of the generally received notion that the peculiar liberality of the latter was due entirely to the personal affection of Charles I. for the Proprietary. Here also is contained the clause which has given rise to so much remark, that in cases of doubtful interpretation that sense was to be chosen which was most favorable to the grantee. Another noticeable thing is that Avalon, unlike Maryland, was held *in capite* by knight's service, and is perhaps the latest English tenure of that kind on record.

The charter of Maryland (1632) is briefly discussed from the point of view taken by McMahon. It gave the Proprietary plenary jurisdiction and "royal rights" (*jura regalia*), reserving nothing to the crown but the usual fifth of gold and silver, and the suzerainty acknowledged by the yearly delivery of two Indian arrows. The Proprietary was, in fact, a king—could make peace and war, organize and officer an army, call out and arm the whole fighting population, make laws with the assent of the freemen, and in certain cases without it; declare martial law, establish courts, execute the laws, punish offences (even capital), pardon offenders, confer titles and dignities, hereditary or other; levy tolls and duties, erect towns, cities, and ports, etc. In some respects he had even ampler power than the king in England, who was bound by ancient charters and precedents and the common law. By an express provision the province and all its inhabitants were for ever exempted from the payment of any taxes or impositions whatever to the crown. The remarkable liberality of this charter, "the most ample and sovereign in its character that ever emanated from the English crown" (McMahon). Mr. Scharf thinks largely

* "History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day." By J. Thomas Scharf. In three volumes. Baltimore: John B. Pict. 1879.

ly contributed to the sturdy but not turbulent independence assumed by Maryland in her later dealings with the mother-country, and gave the province, in the contentions about taxes and subsidies that afterwards arose, a position of peculiar vantage, as she had not only the general rights of English subjects, but the express provisions of a solemn instrument to appeal to.

The question of religious toleration, concerning which there has been of late years some not otherwise discussion, is examined at considerable length; the conclusion reached being that neither to the letter of the charter, nor to Protestants or Catholics as such, is the credit of Maryland toleration due, but chiefly to the liberality and wisdom of the first proprietary, Cæcilius, who made Maryland an asylum for the oppressed of every faith. So soon as the proprietary was dispossessed of his power, as happened more than once, intolerant acts appear on the statute-book; but no sooner was he reinstated than persecution ceased. Even if we do not take so enthusiastic a view of Baltimore's character as does Mr. Scharf, his prudence and moderation cannot be doubted. Indeed, it was Maryland's singular good fortune to be ruled for over a hundred years by a succession of men of more than common worth and ability.

The early colonists, too, were fortunate in the time of their settlement. The Patuxents and other native tribes had been so worried and harried by the fierce Susquehannocks from the head of the bay that they were even then preparing to abandon their homes. So they very willingly sold to the new-comers their lands and cabins, and entered into friendly relations with them which ever afterwards continued; and it is not long before we find these aborigines, who seem to have been a mild-natured race, putting themselves under the protection of the colonists.

As Maryland's northern boundary was the fortieth parallel of north latitude and her eastern the Delaware bay and river, the grant to Penn invaded her territories on two sides. To settle the boundary question Baltimore and Penn had an interview in 1682, of which a rather amusing account is given from a minute drawn up at the time. Penn, it appears, made the extraordinary proposition to Baltimore that the latter should run his northern line at lat. 37° 51' N., and compensate himself for this vast cession by carrying his southern boundary as much further into Virginia. The lawfulness of robbing Peter to pay Paul is not altogether a new problem in ethics; but the suggestion from Paul himself that Peter be robbed of a penny in order that he may receive the largess of a pound, combines with the charm of novelty a certain infantine simplicity that disarms indignation. Oddly enough, while of all the colonies Maryland was the only one that had all four boundaries precisely defined, she was the only one that was robbed of territory on all four sides.

One of the most interesting points in this narrative is the peculiar attitude of the Lower House of Assembly during the French and Indian war, which is here more clearly brought out than we have seen it elsewhere. While the Assembly of the province consisted nominally of two houses, the Upper House was, in reality, but a council, composed of the Proprietary's appointees, and bound to protect his interests. Inasmuch as during the earlier period of the colony's existence the revenues of the province went either to the Proprietary himself or to pay the expenses of administration, etc., it was only natural that the Proprietary's own domains should be exempt from taxation. But the case became different when the war between England and France drove the mother-country to call on the colonies for assistance. In this case the Lower House thought it but just that the Proprietary should bear a share of the common burden. They readily voted liberal supplies, but always under that condition, and to this the Upper House steadily refused to agree. Rarely have popular representatives been placed in a position of greater trial. Not only had they to withstand the wrath of the governor and the whole Upper House, the menaces of England, the indignation of the commander-in-chief, and the disapproval of the sister colonies, but even their own constituents of the northern and western counties, terrified by the horrors of Indian invasion, furiously denounced them as traitors, and threatened to march upon Annapolis to bring them to reason. To their honor they stood firm until the great principle they had contended for was won.

"They knew that encroachments upon popular liberties usually come in the form of merely temporary expedients to meet great emergencies; and that if they conceded the point now, it would establish a precedent that would tell fatally against them in any future attempt at resistance. They were not placed there to defend the lives and property of the settlers of Frederick County, but to uphold the rights and liberties of the people of Maryland; and, despite the clamors of the frontiersmen, the obtrusions of the governor, the indignation of the general, and the gathering displeasure of the crown and parliament, they triumphantly held their own. They were the first on this continent to make a firm stand against the encroachments of power, to offer a bold front to the

omnipotence of parliament, and to insist that legislation should be upon principles of equity and justice as well as precedent and prerogative. In this contest they learned their inherent strength, and entered boldly upon that path which led to independence."

The first volume closes with the repeal of the Stamp Act. We have treated of it somewhat at length, not only because the events it recites are less generally known, but because on it the author seems to have bestowed most pains. The second volume, after about one hundred pages describing Maryland manners and customs a century ago, takes us through the Revolutionary period. Maryland's share in the struggle for independence, and the military operations in which Maryland troops bore a part, are detailed at great length, but present little that is new.

The third volume embraces the period from the declaration of war with Great Britain in 1812 to the close of 1879. The war between the States and the causes which led to it are treated from the point of view of a thoroughgoing partisan of State rights, and with even more oppressive superfluity of detail than any preceding period. Indeed, throughout the whole book the writer seems to have been fired by the ambition to leave nothing untold that could possibly be brought in; and if the first volume sins less heinously in this respect than the others, it is only because ampler details were not attainable. The whole work is encumbered with copies of unimportant papers, citations, often pages in length, from easily accessible books, long lists of names, and copious extracts from newspapers. The typography, especially of the last volume, is very defective, while as for the index, it is best passed over in charitable silence. While we appreciate the industry and commendable zeal displayed in this work, we will venture to hint to Mr. Scharf that chronicles are written by heaping together facts, history by building them up into a complete and harmonious whole. Had he more thoroughly digested the material he has collected so laboriously, and condensed his three volumes into two, his history would have been none the worse book to refer to, and much the better book to read.

Tales of the Chesapeake. By George Alfred Townsend ("Gath"). (New York: American News Company. 1880.)—In this small and unpretending volume Mr. Townsend has collected, we imagine, the literary plant upon which his reputation for something other than a popular and "brilliant" newspaper correspondent will rest; until, at all events, he follows it with such another, which will probably take time. There has evidently been spent on this assemblage of short stories and poems an amount of labor and pains which it is as unusual to find in the work of so busy a man as Mr. Townsend, in his capacity of "Gath," as it is to find it spent to such excellent literary purpose. This effect is partly due, no doubt, to his genuine fondness for the region which all the stories and verses illustrate (and which his ancestors explored in 1623, we note in his dedication), and the poetical spirit of which Mr. Townsend has admirably caught. His subject is not, however, any more to his advantage than his treatment of it has been to his credit in refinement and simplicity. The latter excites wonder as to how many inglorious mutes—so far as literature is concerned, that is to say—the profession of journalism, of which it is so profitable, and doubtless otherwise attractive, to be "brilliant" members, contains. Indeed there is now and then an indication both in his literary attitude, if we may use the phrase, and in his expression, that Mr. Townsend has not come off entirely unscathed of the press; there is now and then a bit of pathos savoring more of police-court scenes, and occasionally a word nearly enough allied to reporters' English to create a slight jar amid its really finished surroundings.

In general, however, in both idea and form his stories are, as we say, admirable. They have something of the peculiar flavor of Mr. Cable's stories of the old creole days in New Orleans, the faint and fleeting charm which belongs to a life and ideals marked by gentleness and simplicity, which have passed into a memory as they have been pressed upon by a sturdier and more "sensible" civilization. A comparison of them with Mr. Cable's, moreover, suggests that Mr. Townsend's sympathy for the types he depicts is a trifle vicarious; the Chesapeake air he loves, but he brings all his "horse-sense" to bear in his thoroughly objective treatment of the ante-bellum Chesapeake character; sensitive Southern readers will perhaps miss Mr. Cable's caressing tone and touch. It is possibly for the reason that Mr. Townsend is thus something of an arbiter as well as of an artist, that the impression he leaves is one of a gentle melancholy. There is, nevertheless, little distinctly sad in the book, and certainly nothing of tragedy, save, it may be, the sketch called "The Fall of Utie," and the longer story "Tell-Tale Feet." Decidedly the best for its combination of pathos and humor, and its picture of romantic types of character that

are (or were) actual, is "Crutch, the Page." The broken-down Southern gentleman, who has become a gambler and a beggar, and whose sole idea of honor is to shield his family from his own disgrace by living under an assumed name; and his wife who supports herself and children, and preserves a ridiculously pathetic pride by keeping a Washington boarding-house, and submits to a constant drain on her resources from her husband, whom she visits secretly and always refers to in public as travelling about on his estates, are inimitably done. "Crutch," their crippled boy, a page in Congress, suddenly dies, but still the "Jedge" remains away. He has been, his wife explains, "on his Tennessee purchase. These Christmas times there's no getting through the snow in Cumberland Gap. He's stopped off thaw to shoot the—ahem!—the wild turkey—a great passion with the Jedge. His half-uncle, General Johnson, of Awkinso, was a turkey-killer of high celebrity." Meantime "Old Beau" is laying a wreath of flowers upon his boy's grave. Much of the verse is delightful, smooth, and musical, yet using words with a nice, and not rarely a quaint, sense of their meaning. It is evident that Mr. Townsend has read much modern poetry; but no minor bard can well conceal that at this date, and it is often—certainly here—an evidence rather of his cultivation than of his poverty of original force. Of the latter there is plenty in these poems; it is merely of a modest and unmistakably minor sort. The verses used as an "Introduction" to the volume are charming in sentiment and movement, and the closing one, "Old St. Mary's," may be especially called to the reader's attention. There are twenty-six "tales and idylls" in all, and the book numbers 285 pages.

Prosper Mérimée: ses Portraits, ses Dessins, sa Bibliothèque. Étude par Maurice Tourneux. (Paris: Charavay Frères. Pp. 158. 1879.)—It would be hard to find a better example of the latest phase of French taste in polite literature than this little book, which shows thorough research in all sorts of outlying directions, a refinement of mechanical execution, and an excellent combination of text and plates, all of which bespeak the bibliophile. A charming portrait of Mérimée, painted by his mother in 1808, shows how much of his artistic taste was inherited from his parents, for father and mother both were artists of no mean order: the latter painted miniatures, the other attempted more ambitious flights, and, besides being a lecturer at the Polytechnic and Fine Arts Schools, left a work on the history of oil-painting which was published only a few years before his death. Mérimée, therefore, came naturally by his love of sketching, and he indulged it on all sorts of occasions—at the Academy, in attendance on the numerous commissions appointed by Government, and in books and letters; from all of these sources his last biographical notice is largely enriched. There is a curious portrait of him, in the disguise of a woman, intended to carry out the mystification of his "Théâtre de Clara Gazul," a book in which title, preface, text, notes, and even this portrait, were all clever literary falsifications. His bas-relief by David, and some much better likenesses, all shared the fate of his library and its treasures, which were destroyed by fire in the Commune uprising. His love of letters was combined with a love of society, and a curious proof of the society he affected in his earlier days is found in the account of a breakfast with Maresté, a friend of Jacquemont and (Beyle) Stendhal, Viel-Castel, famous for eating alone on a bet a dinner that cost a hundred dollars; Koreff, the friend and doctor of Heine, and Sutton Sharpe, nephew of the poet Rogers. Delacroix, the great painter, has, however, preserved memoranda of Mérimée's conversations on art, which showed that Mérimée was, in one respect at least, qualified to be both the friend and the critic of great artists, for he was himself master of all the technical difficulties of painting, sculpture, and engraving. In his famous "Lettres à une Inconnue" there are repeated references to his own work, and many examples of it are reproduced in the volume before us. With his usual love of contradictions, Mérimée used to expend time, care, and money in illustrating MS. copies of his books for his nearest friends, and in printing a few very carefully executed and unpublished numbers of some of his essays, such as his "César" for the Academy and his notice of Beyle; yet his library had few examples of any great typographical value. Even of Jannet's beautiful editions, to which he had contributed, he had only incomplete sets.

The story of Mérimée's defence of Libri recalls the quarrel that once filled the literary world, and perhaps even now may be worth recording from this authentic source for the younger generation of bibliographers. Guillaume-Brutus-Icile-Timoléon de Libri-Carrucci della Sommaja, member of the Academy of Sciences, professor of the Collège de France and the Sorbonne, Inspector-General of Libraries, chevalier of the Legion

of Honor, was accused of taking books and manuscripts from the public collections to which he had official access. A report sent to Guizot, his especial patron and protector, was found in that minister's cabinet after the revolution of '48, and published in the *Moniteur*. Libri, on the hint of a friend given him at a weekly meeting of the Academy, fled to London. His books and papers were subjected to a thorough search by experts, and his answer from London was rather an appeal to his old friends than an explanation of the serious evidence accumulated against him. Paul Laeroix, Gustave Brunet, Feuillet de Conches, and finally Mérimée himself, undertook to carry on the war against the authorities, and the last, as a penalty for his bitter satire, recalling the days of Beaumarchais or Paul Louis Courier, was tried, convicted, and sent to prison for fifteen days and fined a thousand francs. Mérimée gave an amusing account of his captivity to his colleagues of the Academy, renewed his study of Russian, and in his next publication contented himself with incidentally mentioning the profound leisure and shady retreat in which he had spent part of the last July. In 1859, in calling attention to the sale of Libri's books, Mérimée returned to the attack, pointedly naming the bibliographical treasures thus secured by a private person, whose success in collecting was far greater than that of the army of officials employed for the purpose in France. In 1860, when the question was again mooted, Libri found a sturdy defence at the hands of Mérimée; but it was in vain, and the sentence of the first trial was renewed at every appeal. It was the sympathy between Mérimée and Panizzi in Libri's case that enabled the former to study the immense reforms and improvements made by the latter in the library of the British Museum, and to advocate similar changes in the management of the great National Library of Paris. Mérimée was twice called on to take part in commissions appointed to study the subject, and largely to his zeal and industry is due the great advance made in Paris in the extent to which its literary treasures have been opened to the student. Sainte-Beuve, Littré, De Saacy, and other men of equal reputation sat under him in the last commission, to whose labors we owe the reading-room in which the man of letters can now work as much at his ease in Paris as in London.

Sporting Adventures in the Far West. By John Mortimer Murphy. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.)—There is one point in this work which will attract the attention of the thoughtful and of the genuine lovers of field sports. We mean the wanton destruction of wild-animal life, far as well as feather, which has resulted almost in the annihilation of certain species. There are several reasons for this, but the two most potent may be found in the lax administration of the game-laws and the universal adoption of the modern breech-loading shot-gun and sporting-rifle. In many of the States the game-constables are mere political appointments. They are simply a portion of the "machine," and as such have in connection with it certain functions to perform. The protection of game is entirely outside the province of their duties, and consequently the game-statutes are a dead-letter, to which no one pays the least attention. In former times, when the flint-lock, single-barrel fowling-piece and rifle were the weapons exclusively used, our bays and inland waters were literally covered with wild fowl, while the forests, even close by towns of considerable population, were abundantly stocked with deer. Quail in great numbers could be bagged at one's very door, while every swamp was alive with woodcock and snipe. Every household was abundantly supplied with game, a luxury which to-day is permitted to people only of considerable means. Now every man with strength of finger sufficient to pull a trigger owns and uses a breech-loading gun, into which he thrusts cartridges with entire immunity from accident to himself. Ten years since clothing for sportsmen of suitable color and texture was difficult to procure, and then only on a special order. Now there are entire houses devoted exclusively to this trade, which turn out sporting garments by thousands. Arrayed in these and armed with the modern weapon, gangs of so-called sportsmen ravage the land, killing everything which flies or runs, and this without regard to the season or fitness of the victim. Laws are powerless to restrain them.

Mr. Murphy notices a similar condition of affairs as prevailing in the Far West. Even in the most remote districts bands of tourists armed with breech-loaders harass the game with tireless pertinacity, killing or maiming everything which crosses their path. In this they are assisted by the Indians and so-called professional hunters. He relates numerous instances where the gravid female buffalo is killed merely for the sake of the hide, which at that season is worth less than a dollar. The following extract from Mr. Murphy's chapter on the buffalo will give an idea of the methods employed to exterminate an animal of unappreciable value;

"One of the meanest devices ever instituted by man for their destruction is that practised by some persons south of the Platte River, in Nebraska. Streams being exceedingly scarce there the poor creatures have to travel many miles sometimes to obtain water, and when they reach it they are so desperate from thirst that nothing except death can prevent them from having it. Hunters, knowing this, post themselves along the streams and kill them as they come to drink; but for fear their work by day should not prove effective enough they build fires at night, and by this means keep the dying creatures away from the water for three or four days at a time. When, however, they can stand the pangs of thirst no longer they rush for the precious fluid, preferring death to unbearable misery, and many sink to rise no more under the leaden hail of numerous rifles. Herd after herd is frequently slaughtered in this barbarous manner until scarcely any remain in a large tract of country. The result is that few, comparatively speaking, are now found there, though they could be counted by the thousands a few years ago."

This work could not be accomplished with the celerity the author speaks of were it not for the modern breech-loading arm of precision. It is, of course, useless to wage war against this weapon, but at least some effort should be made to put the beavers under certain restrictions. Unless this be done, and that quickly, glass-ball shooting will become the sole recourse of the American sportsman.

Ancient and Mediaeval Republics: A Review of their Institutions and of the Causes of their Decline and Fall. By Henry Mann. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.)—As Mr. Mann very justly observes in his preface, "the glory and the wane of republics of the past form a subject of never-dying interest to the student, the philosopher, and the statesman": he adds that his purpose in writing this volume was to "present a continuous and compact review of the various democratic and oligarchical systems which flourished in ages gone by." He therefore begins with the "Hebrew Commonwealth," the Mosaic laws having, in his opinion, through Puritanism left an ineffaceable impression upon American institutions; then he considers the Phoenicians, Carthage, Greece, Rome, and finally the Italian States which rose into power upon the ruins of the Roman Empire. From this language of the preface the reader is led to expect a philosophical enquiry into the causes of the decline and fall of the various powers whose history is touched upon, particularly as Mr. Mann declares that his "views" on these subjects are "fully set forth," though he admits that he has refrained, except in a single instance, from drawing any conclusions which might seem to have a direct bearing upon public affairs in the United States, "lest whatever educational value the work may possess might be impaired by the diverse feelings and partial strictures that such reflections would not fail to evoke." The single instance referred to here is apparently his account of the Bank of Venice, in the course of which he produces evidence to show that the inflationist theory, that its paper was based on national credit only, is a mere pretence, the fact being that the bank paper was based on coin, and that it was consequently quoted at a premium when the bonds of the Republic stood at sixty per cent. of their nominal value. This, however, has no particular bearing upon the philosophy of republican institutions, for it would be just as true and just as apt had Venice never been a republic, or were the United States an empire. If Mr. Mann were able to show some probable or natural connection between bad financial systems and democratic institutions, or the reverse, he would have added something to our knowledge of the science of government.

Our complaint against him is not that he is in danger of being too philosophical, as he seems to think, but too little so. We have failed to find in his work anything of importance that is not contained in numerous other histories, and there is not sufficient originality about his method of treatment or his style to give his book any especial literary value. When he does attempt the philosophy of history, he is apt to treat the subject somewhat inadequately. When he says it was "strange" that the luxury and civilization of Carthage should have been disfigured by the custom of human sacrifice, we feel that we should like the opinion of some competent authority on the subject of primitive culture before deciding whether it was strange or not, and we also acknowledge some curiosity to know how he learnt that "the Carthaginians inherited from the Tyrians a propensity to the immolation of human life" (p. 19). On the other hand, when he explains the fall of Carthage by the fact that "Rome was stronger, and Rome bent all her tremendous energies and her indomitable will to annihilate her rival; there was not room for two such republics; the struggle once begun had to end in the ruin of one or the other," we cannot avoid an ungrateful feeling that it did not need a new historian to teach us this.

On the whole, Mr. Mann's book, though it suggests many questions,

solves none; it amounts in fact to little more than an historical compendium, and so far as the United States is concerned certainly leaves us completely in the dark as to the bearing of the history of former republics upon ours, or as to our probable future. This is indeed a subject in which we seem, as time goes on, rather to recede from than to approach a solution. Fifty years ago the consensus of the most enlightened opinion in the world pointed towards republican institutions and ideas as the ultimate and highest form of political development. Recent investigations have established the curious fact that many of these institutions and ideas, instead of being ultimate, are primitive in character, and have been handed down to us by generations of barbaric ancestors. At the same time republican institutions have been found no preservative against the evils which have defaced other forms of government. Whether there is any general law governing the development of human societies, other than the vicious circle in which anarchy produces government, government tyranny, tyranny revolt, revolt freedom, freedom license, license tyranny again, no one can as yet positively say, whatever theories we may entertain on the subject. The difficulties surrounding the subject hitherto have been greatly enhanced by the fact that everybody has approached it as a partisan of one or another form of government. The scientific study of positive institutions as such, without reference to the old dispute as to the relative value of free or strong government, is a study which has begun only within a few years, and it is perhaps as yet too early to look to it for a solution of what is still one of the great problems of human destiny.

Lehrbuch der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur. Von Dr. David Cassel. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus; New York: B. Westermann. 1879. 8vo, pp. xii.-564)—This book is not a general history of the Israelites, from the earliest times down to ours, as is, for instance, Milman's "History of the Jews," but, in accordance with the German literary usage which distinguishes between "Hebrews" and "Jews," it is limited to the post-exilic history of the people. It is an extension of the author's "Leitfaden für den Unterricht in der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur" which has gone through five editions, and incorporates the main contents of his largest work, "Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur." Comparatively little attention is bestowed on the Babylonian, Persian, and Egyptian periods of the history and literature of Judea, but with the reign of the Seleucidae the scope of the work expands, which now follows in the broad wake of Jost's "Geschichte der Israeliten" (9 vols., 1820-29), of his "Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten" (3 vols., 1857-9), and mainly of the original nine volumes of Graetz's "Geschichte der Juden" (1853-71). Equally important guides of the author, though not through the whole of his ground, are the writings of Rapoport, Zunz, A. Geiger, Frankel, Herzfeld, Steinschneider, Kayserling, and other Jewish critics of this century. He is, however, far from drawing his materials from secondary sources: the notes to almost every chapter show his perfect familiarity with the whole range of Jewish literature, from the Bible down to the latest Hebrew periodicals published in Russia or Austria, and especially with the vast, to Christian students almost impenetrable, field of the Talmuds, Midrashim, and mediaeval rabbinical writings.

In fact, it is as a brief introductory guide to these works that the manual is chiefly valuable, two ample registers—one of persons and one of writings—making it an excellent book of reference. Its non-literary sketches are rather meagre, and here and there very incomplete. Dr. Cassel has evidently little sense for what the veteran botanist Schleider—a Christian—revolted by recent attacks on the Jews, has celebrated in a vigorous pamphlet as "The Romance of Jewish Martyrdom in the Middle Ages" ("Die Romantik," etc.; Leipzig, 1878). Nor has he done justice to the protracted struggle, waged within the last hundred years in parliaments and in the arena of journalism, which has almost entirely ended that martyrdom in all countries in which there is a parliamentary or journalistic arena. To the Jews in England, whose standing in the history of Jewish literature proper is very low, though the story both of their oppression and enfranchisement is interesting, only a few scanty paragraphs are devoted, and only a few lines altogether to the Jews in America, who fortunately have no martyrdom whatever to boast of, and whose contributions to Jewish literature hardly surpass those of their English brethren. Of the two American Jewish journals mentioned as appearing, one never deserved to be recorded, and the other—the *Occident*—expired long ago. Such slips, however, are quite exceptional in the work. Next to its accuracy its critical liberalism is commendable, as evinced in remarks concerning the Biblical writings which fall within its scope as post-exilic. The paragraph devoted to the book

and story of Esther, however, is rather vague, leaving the reader in doubt whether he has to believe the story or to consider the book as wholly or in part a fiction. Similar more or less legendary stories, after Josephus or the Talmud, are distinctly characterized as such, but often only after a recital which has the appearance of being serious. The impartiality of the book is carried to such an extent that even Nebuchadnezzar and Antiochus Epiphanes receive kind words. The latter is designated as "gut-mäthig," but a little before we are told that on entering Jerusalem unresisted, in 169 B.C., he ordered a general massacre, in which about forty thousand men, women, and children were cut down.

Selections from the Greek Lyric Poets. With an Historical Introduction and Explanatory Notes by Henry M. Tyler, Professor of Greek and Latin in Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (Boston: Ginn & Heath, 1879. 12mo, pp. v., 184.)—This selection from the Greek lyric poets, Prof. Tyler tells us, "has been prepared with the desire to do something toward filling what seems to be a great chasm in the field of Greek literature as explored in our American colleges. We study Greek poetry, leaving out those very species of song which have most to do with the common life of the common people." The present selection is, perhaps, as well adapted to the purpose in view as any other would be, but the individual taste of the editor and his opinions as to what portions of the classic authors are best fitted for the instruction of young persons necessarily exercise a great influence in his choice, and involve questions into the discussion of which we have no space to enter. The "Historical Introduction" is written with somewhat of that exaggerated enthusiasm which, if anywhere, is pardonable in a Greek professor writing about Greek poetry. Prof. Tyler says that he "has followed very largely the German edition of Prof. Buchholz," and has used his notes "with great freedom." A comparison of the two books fully confirms this statement. The great favor with which classical scholars in both hemispheres have received two editions of the German work is a sufficient proof that he has followed a safe guide. The scholarship of the book is what might be

called "orthodox." No attempt is made to disturb the received traditions of classical literature, and no discussions of doubtful points are indulged in.

Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists. With Conjectural Emendations of the Text. By Karl Elze. (Halle: Max Niemeyer; New York: B. Westermann & Co., 1880.)—Age cannot wither nor custom stale the infinite variety of emendation and illustration to which the text of Shakspere continues to be made subject. Still, it would be wrong to class the work of Elze with those conjectural alterations and fancied improvements which, according as we feel, irritate or amuse us. In a small volume of one hundred and thirty-six pages this careful and accomplished scholar has collected the illustrative comments upon the plays of the Elizabethan period which he has contributed during the past few years to various periodicals in Germany, in England, and in this country, and which are not included in others of his works. He has also given us an example of self-restraint not common in commentators, not merely in withdrawing emendations which he has once made but has now abandoned, but also in declining to reprint them. Most of the volume is naturally taken up with notes on the plays of Shakspere. They are generally marked by that caution and good sense which are sufficient to commend alterations in the text to the consideration of every one, even when there may not be weight enough in the argument for them to produce their acceptance. In a few instances the author seems to forget that cardinal principle of verbal emendation, that when the word in the text yields a satisfactory sense there is nothing to justify the substitution of another word for it, because the change carries with it to the critic a still better sense. From its very nature a work like this appeals to a very limited class only of students; but to them it will be both interesting and valuable.

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